UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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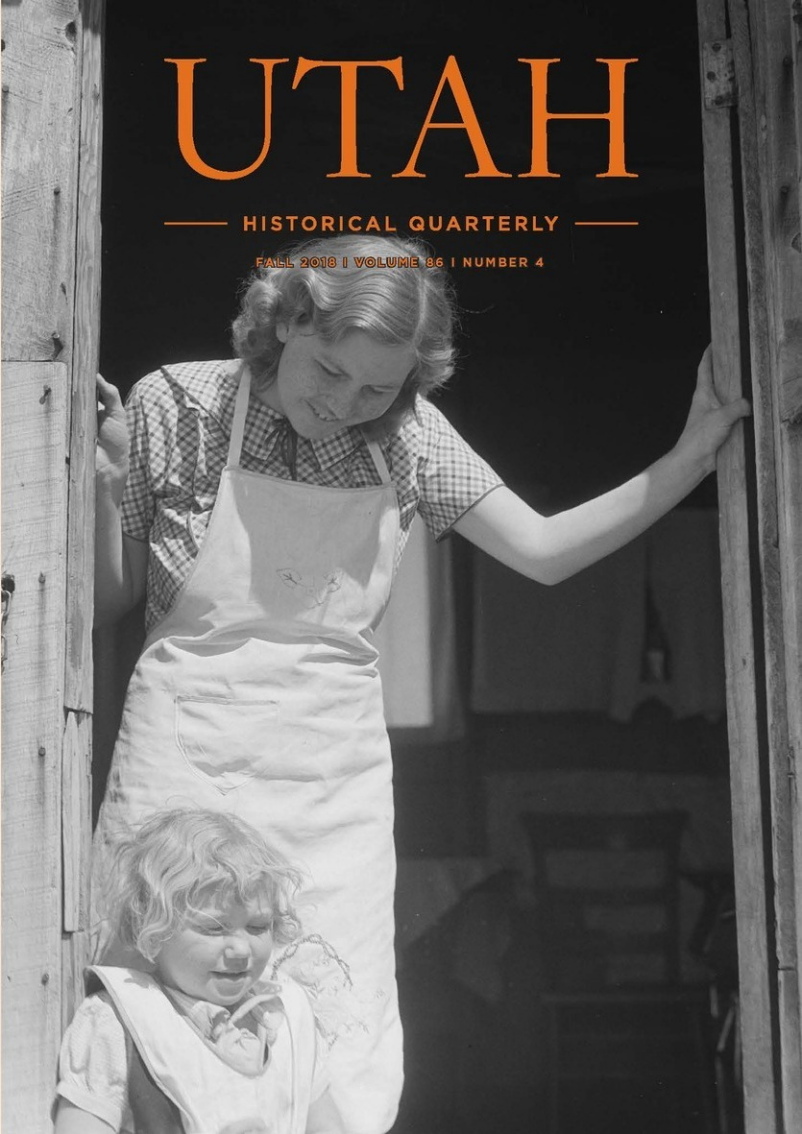

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Utah Historical Quarterly is Utah's journal of record, published quarterly on behalf of the Utah State Historical Society since 1928. The *UHQ's* mission, from its earliest issues to the present, is to publish articles on all aspects of Utah history, as well as to present Utah in the larger context of the West. Even as *UHQ* continues its commitment to themes traditionally associated with Utah history, it challenges readers and authors to think across state lines to the forces of history, physiography, and culture that link Utah to a host of people, places, experiences, and trends beyond its geopolitical boundaries. *UHQ* seeks a regional approach, reflecting Utah's geographic and cultural position at the crossroads of the West.

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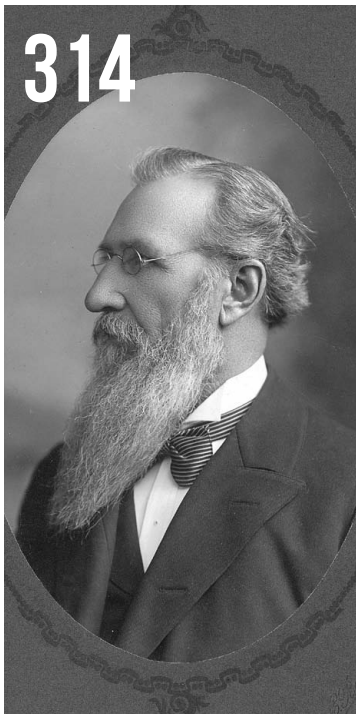

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IN THIS ISSUE

The essays in this issue build on, in the words of Steven Pincus and William Novak, political history's "traditional emphasis on elections, political elites, administration, and the endless, routine competition for political power."[1] And yet, each brings social and cultural insights to matters of power, authority, and public representation. This is beautifully illustrated in our lead article, an examination of how the temperament and insecurities of the nation's chief executive shaped national and local history on the eve of the Civil War. Moving beyond simplistic characterizations, the essay connects the flawed ambitions of James Buchanan to Utah's greatest political crisis. Buchanan's dismissive treatment of Thomas Kane—after the latter, at personal sacrifice, helped to broker a peace between Brigham Young and the federal government—was representative of the president's dealings with his other associates and even close personal friends. The brilliance of this piece is its insight not only into Buchanan's role in the Utah conflict but into the personality of a man given to strained and broken relationships. We also have a portrait of Kane, with his ambition to outdo his older brother on the nation's stage and to receive the recognition and financial remuneration to which he felt entitled.

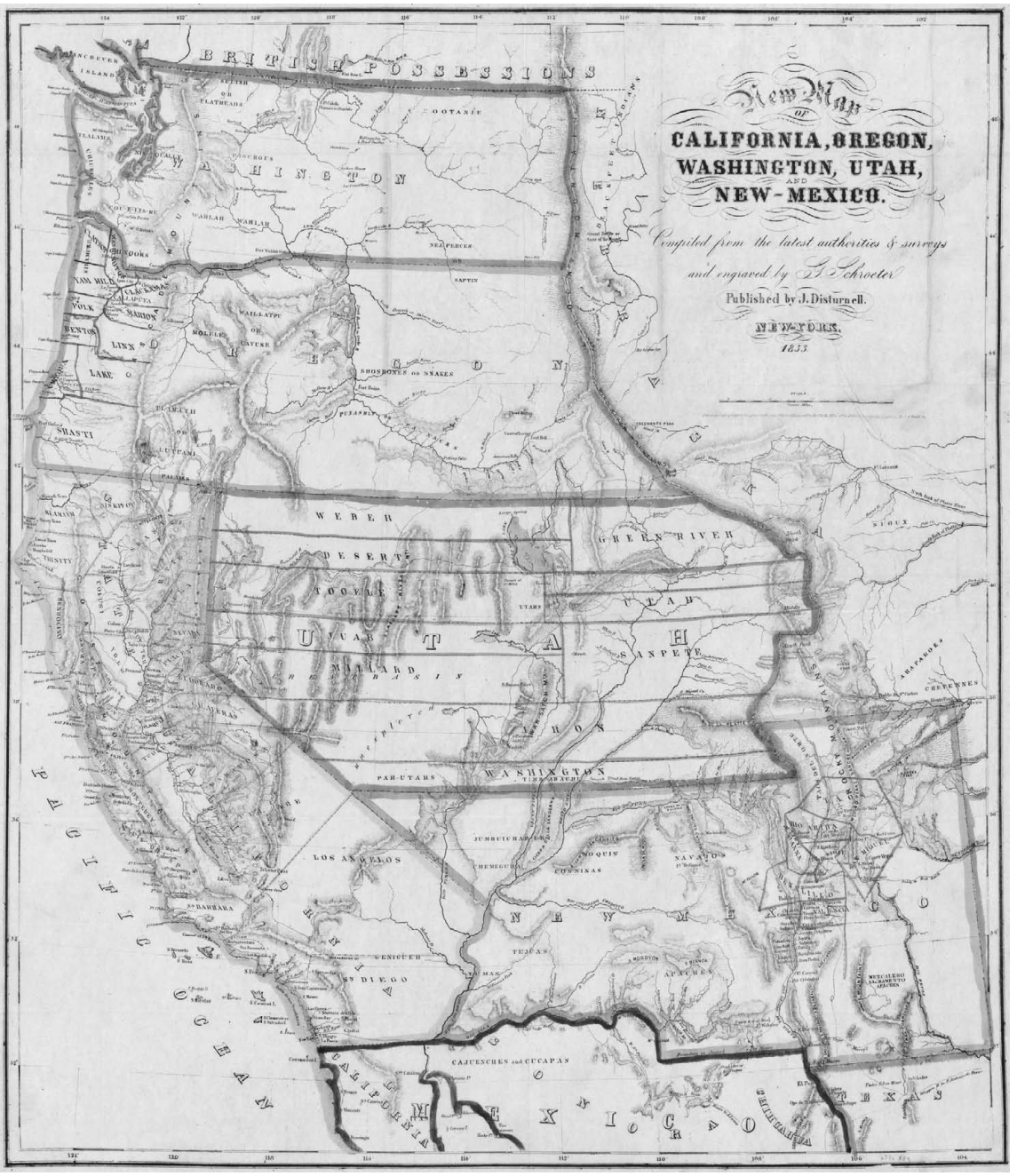
Our next two articles detail separate elections—the reelection of Reed Smoot in 1914 and the Salt Lake County sheriff's campaign of 1922—and the church–state tensions that animated them. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Utah was becoming integrated into the religious and cultural mainstream. This context makes these electoral episodes interesting: LDS religious leaders used the heft of their names, clout of their office, and moral language of their religion to back one candidate over another—even when the other nominees claimed membership in the same church—signaling to federal courts and lawmakers continued Mormon political and economic power. Both campaigns had long-term consequences. By 1914, Smoot was a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, positions that gave him—and his state—remarkable influence. After the 1922 sheriff's campaign and lawsuit, high-ranking LDS leaders largely refrained from public endorsement of state, county, and municipal candidates. The sheriff's contest is also significant in another sense: the language used in the election reflected the conservative reaction to progressive social mores being embraced by a growing urban population.

In our fourth piece we turn to the photography of Christine Armbruster. We see in these images the strains, challenges, and, of course, joys in small-town Utah—in short, snapshots of a way of life still common in the state but increasingly unfamiliar to urban Utahns. James Swensen introduces Armbruster's photographs, putting them in the context of a larger project to document rural life that dates back to the Mormon village studies and particularly to the work of Dorothea Lange and Russell Lee.

Finally, crazy quilts: homemade objects, stitched by upper-class women in the late nineteenth century. These items, including one held by the Utah State Historical Society's artifact collection, are often laden with common national and regional symbols but also contain imagery that detail the life and history of their creators. In the case of the quilt highlighted in this short essay, Emma Green Bull's stitches harken to her roots in England, conversion to Mormonism, journey to Utah, and life as a pioneer in the territory.

Notes

1 Steven Pincus and William Novak, "Political History after the Cultural Turn," *Perspectives on History: The Newsmagazine of the American Historical Association,* May 1, 2011.



A New Map of the State of California, the Territories of Oregon, Washington, Utah & New Mexico, 1853. During Kane's mission Utah Territory was seven hundred miles wide. By early 1858 the Utah War had touched in some way virtually the entire American West with international impact on the Pacific Coast possessions of Russian and Great Britain as well as northern Mexico, Spanish Cuba, coastal Central America, the Kingdom of Hawaii, and the Dutch East Indies. *Published by J. Disturnell, Library of Congress.*

THOMAS L. KANE'S 1858 UTAH WAR MISSION:
PRESIDENTIAL INGRATITUDE AND MANIPULATION

BY WILLIAM P. MACKINNON

Below the surface of James Buchanan's reputation as an ineffective chief executive presiding over the nation's slide toward the Civil War runs a quite different image—that of a wealthy bon vivant entertaining with Cuban cigars and jeroboams of Madeira and Old Monongahela, of cronyism, and of the dispensation of political patronage on a scale stunning even to historians advising the twentieth-century Watergate investigators. After the imposed social austerity and bereavement of Franklin Pierce's administration, "Old Buck" the bachelor transformed the White House into a residence that was urbane, convivial, and even a bit glamorous. With niece Harriet Lane as his official hostess, Buchanan's Executive Mansion took on a gaiety rooted in his decades as a Pennsylvania lawyer-politician, congressional insider, secretary of state, and U.S. minister to the imperial courts of Tsar Nicholas I and Queen Victoria. U.S. Senator Sam Houston of Texas might sit in a corner at Buchanan's White House receptions homesick and whittling wooden hearts for Harriet Lane, but around him jostled Washington's grandees and hopefuls, anxious to partake of the brimming punch bowl as well as presidential patronage.

Normally such a persona implies an ability to forge positive, enduring relationships. Yet a close examination of Buchanan's behavior reveals a mixed pattern that calls into question his ability to sustain such connections on a long-term basis. The purpose of this article is to explore Buchanan's capacity for friendship, especially under political pressure, and its implications for his presidency. At the heart of this examination are such behaviors as reciprocity, constancy, and willingness to deal forthrightly with the expectations of loyal supporters.

Rather than taking an encyclopedic approach, this study focuses primarily on Buchanan's connection to a little-known Philadelphia lawyer important to the opening years of his administration: Thomas L. Kane,

clerk of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania and son of its presiding judge, John K. Kane. Buchanan's relationship with the younger Kane flourished and then ended badly. How the president interacted with Kane is telling, especially in connection with the latter's messianic 6,000-mile mission to the Great Basin and back to mediate the Utah War of 1857–1858, the nation's most extensive and expensive military undertaking between the Mexican-American War and the Civil War. The Buchanan-Kane relationship sheds light on whether Buchanan had the character and skills essential for successful resolution of the secession crisis three years later. Especially relevant to this issue is assessing Buchanan's ability to inspire the trust of others so important to bridging sectional differences and resolving conflict.[1]

THE LOYALISTS

James Buchanan enjoyed lifelong friends and supporters, but in several cases relationships with even these close associates were sorely tested during the White House years. Most often such tensions with long-term friends occurred when Buchanan sacrificed their nomination for a federal office to advance a more viable or politically useful candidate. Other disappointments arose when Buchanan was able to deliver a post but not one commensurate with a friend's expectations.

One of the most jarring such cases of a disappointed loyalist involved Buchanan's decision in February 1857 to nominate Judge Jeremiah S. Black over Representative J. Glancy Jones as U.S. attorney general. Buchanan estimated that the move would placate the unruly Philadelphia faction of his home state's Democratic Party. That Jones viewed Black as an unprincipled enemy aggravated the situation; so too his realization that Black had not even sought the appointment and was unaware of Buchanan's nomination until the Senate confirmed him. As consolation, Buchanan helped arrange Jones's selection as House whip and chairman of one of the chamber's key committees. Even these sops were short-lived. During the mid-term elections in the fall of 1858, Buchanan lost control of his party and with it Glancy Jones's seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Buchanan told Harriet Lane, "[Glancy Jones] will be a loss to the whole Country." In the end, Jones settled for appointment by Buchanan as U.S. ambassador to Austria, a position that imposed hardship on his family while evoking unwelcome public images of exile and presidential ineffectiveness.[2]

In the closing days of the Buchanan administration, even the favored Attorney General Black experienced disappointment. Buchanan nominated him to be an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, but Black's candidacy failed in the Senate because of controversy over the administration's policies. In the end, notwithstanding Black's years as chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and cabinet service, the best that Buchanan could deliver was a role as the U.S. Supreme Court's clerk.

President James Buchanan (1791–1868). In two White House House meetings with Kane during November-December 1857, "Old Buck" was cordial but unhelpful as well as secretive about his plans for prosecution of the Utah War. This manipulativeness and his ungrateful, post-war treatment of Kane raise questions about the president's ability to sustain long-term personal relationships and inspire sectional trust at a crucial time. *Photograph by Mathew Brady. Courtesy National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.*

A similar story played out for another prominent friend, Robert M. Magraw of Baltimore. In early 1861, when the Senate confirmed him as U.S. consul in Liverpool, Magraw declined the position. The reason for the rejection is unknown, but, as a railroad president and erstwhile suitor of Harriet Lane, Magraw might have been unenthusiastic about the prospect of spending time not in cosmopolitan London but in gritty Liverpool, dealing with the personal problems of stranded American tourists and beached sailors. After years of furnishing Buchanan with private railroad cars and special cigars to the point that cynics labeled him "Buchanan's baggage master," Magraw may have felt that his loyalty to the president warranted better treatment.[3]

At about the same time as Magraw's declension, John Appleton, then Buchanan's assistant secretary of state, accepted an appointment as U.S. ambassador to Russia. In doing so Appleton must have been painfully aware that nearly thirty years earlier President Andrew Jackson had named Buchanan to the same embassy while telling intimates that, absent an American embassy at the North Pole, it was the most distant posting he could devise for an out-of-favor Old Buck.

THE DISAFFECTED

Notwithstanding the existence of these and other mutually positive relationships, the papers of individuals close to Buchanan provide signs of a quite different dynamic. It is a pattern of friendship followed by perceived betrayal, ingratitude, enmity, recriminations, and, in one instance, death.

In the case of three such people, their broken relationships with Buchanan are so notorious and well-studied, there is no need to belabor them here. I refer to Ann Coleman, Buchanan's wealthy but unstable fiancée, whose murky, self-inflicted death in 1819 drove her family to view him harshly but unjustly as Ann's "murderer" and to bar him from her funeral; John W. Forney, the Pennsylvania political acolyte who so resented Buchanan's failure to arrange his election to the Senate, appointment to the editorship of the Washington *Union,* or selection for a cabinet position that he established a Philadelphia newspaper dedicated to the president's political destruction; and U.S. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, whose conflict with Buchanan over the doctrine of popular sovereignty and distribution of patronage in the Midwest destroyed their relationship while creating a factionalism so vicious that by 1860 it had all but destroyed the Democratic Party. Some historians have argued that the Buchanan-Douglas enmity contributed to the election of Abraham Lincoln and the secession crisis of 1860–1861.[4]

In addition to Coleman, Forney, and Douglas, Buchanan left in his wake at least six other disaffected friends, subordinates, and political associates: James C. Van Dyke, Dr. Jonathan M. Foltz, George Plitt, Gen. Winfield Scott, Robert J. Walker, and James L. Reynolds.

Van Dyke, a Pennsylvania attorney, was a man whom Buchanan described to President Pierce in 1853 as a young colleague with whom he had "been on terms of intimate friendship . . . for a number of years, commencing with his marriage to a granddaughter of our glorious old Democratic Governor, Simon Snyder," in the early 1840s. At Buchanan's urging, Pierce appointed Van Dyke to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania; thereafter Van Dyke became one of Buchanan's principal political advisors in Philadelphia, as well as a prime guardian of his personal interests in eastern Pennsylvania, especially during Buchanan's extended absence in London as U.S. minister during the mid-1850s. In 1858 Van Dyke became disaffected when the president failed to appoint him to the federal judgeship in Philadelphia that came open upon the death of John K. Kane. Notwithstanding the fact that Van Dyke had named one of his sons after the president, his relationship with Buchanan had so deteriorated by March 1860 that the president summarily removed him as U.S. attorney to appoint a fellow-Lancasterian. This dismissal prompted national political comment and provided an opportunity for a House committee to use Van Dyke's removal as a lever to investigate corruption in President Buchanan's use of patronage, favoritism, and government contracts. After removal, Van Dyke struggled unsuccessfully to build a private law practice to support his large family, including James Buchanan Van Dyke. He died embittered in Philadelphia in 1866 at age fifty-one.[5]

Unlike Van Dyke, Jonathan M. Foltz was Buchanan's townsman from Lancaster and a U.S. Navy surgeon. Notwithstanding Dr. Foltz's role in rescuing Buchanan from a near-death experience with the "National Hotel disease" in 1857, his perceptions of subsequent presidential ingratitude led to invective that prompted the president to consider court-martialing Foltz. Like Van Dyke, he had named a son after the president, but in 1859 changed the lad's middle name from Buchanan to Steinman.[6]

One of the president's oldest Pennsylvania political cronies was George Plitt, who also served as Harriet Lane's foster parent until Buchanan, her uncle, assumed legal guardianship. When in 1857 Buchanan engineered Plitt's relinquishment of a long-held patronage position as clerk of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia and then failed to arrange promised alternative employment, he dealt a devastating blow to the family's well-being. From the shelter of a cottage the Plitts dubbed *Shantee*, Sophie Plitt surveyed the wreckage of the family finances after her husband's forced resignation and wrote Harriet Lane, "I don't care who is Prest. I worked for one nearly all my life—my husband was removed from office, & we have been ever since *counting every dollar to keep our home*. I despise politics. . . . There is too much ingratitude in political men & I *am not a spaniel*."[7]

Buchanan damaged his relationship with Brevet Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott, the army's general in chief, when in January 1858 he ordered Scott to travel to the Pacific Coast and, over his protests, open a second front in the Utah War. Buchanan did so without disclosing his related scheme to force a Mormon exodus into northern Mexico, use Scott's troops to intervene in Sonora and Chihuahua, and ultimately acquire Cuba. As General Scott prepared to sail west at the beginning of 1858, one British diplomat was shocked by the president's duplicity in sending Scott on such an assignment with an incomplete understanding of its intent. Manhattan lawyer George Templeton Strong viewed the trek as a "death sentence" for the ailing, overweight, and aging general. During the Civil War Scott dueled with Buchanan in his memoirs over what he considered Old Buck's corrupt prosecution of the Utah War and ineffective handling of the secession crisis. The former president reciprocated in kind, writing one newspaper editor, "[it] has been often said of the gallant general that when he abandons the sword for the pen, he makes sad work of it."[8]

Robert J. Walker of Pennsylvania and Mississippi was a Buchanan colleague from their shared service in President Polk's cabinet during the Mexican War. Old Buck's appointment of Walker as governor of Kansas Territory in March 1857 was one of Buchanan's earliest and most sensitive selections. Walker resigned less than a year later to become a bitter critic of the president, citing inadequate political and military support, if not worse. It is telling that in 1929 George D. Harmon titled his journal article on the dealings between the two men, "President James Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas."[9]

James L. Reynolds, like Dr. Foltz, was from Lancaster and one of Buchanan's close friends for a half-century. Reynolds stopped speaking to the president after the death at Gettysburg of Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds, an officer whom congressman Buchanan had appointed to the West Point Class of 1841. In 1863 the Reynolds family held the former president personally responsible for the war's origins and carnage, a view common enough in Lancaster that Buchanan's Masonic lodge brothers took to guarding his retirement mansion at night.[10]

THE UTAH WAR AND PRESIDENTIAL INGRATITUDE: THE KANE CASE

Key to understanding the relationship between Buchanan and Thomas L. Kane is their involvement in the Utah War, an armed confrontation over power and authority with the civil-religious hierarchy of Utah Territory that presented one of the unexpected but great challenges of the president's first years in office. When in the spring of 1857 Buchanan set out to restore federal authority in Utah by replacing Brigham Young as governor and installing a successor to be escorted west by a large army expeditionary force, it was a move that Young and his territorial militia (the Nauvoo Legion) rejected, contesting it with hit-and-run military tactics that morphed into a bloody guerrilla conflict. What followed brought not only casualties and atrocities like the Mountain Meadows massacre, but

federal treason—and, in the case of Young, murder—indictments. In the fall of 1857, the campaign stalemated and the army went into winter quarters at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, draining the U.S. Treasury during the worst economic recession in twenty years. The confrontation went on until a controversial settlement was imposed in June 1858 by two civilian peace commissioners dispatched by Buchanan from Washington. Under this arrangement Brigham Young accepted his removal, the army's Utah Expedition marched unopposed into the Salt Lake Valley to garrison the territory, and the president extended a blanket pardon for Utah's entire population.[11]

As commander in chief, President Buchanan's role in this military campaign is obvious. That of Thomas L. Kane has been more difficult for historians to assess, enveloped as it was by his penchant for secrecy and anonymity, as well as 160 years of Mormon folklore.

Prior to the spring of 1857, Kane was not a Buchanan intimate, but the two men became actively involved with one another because of the Utah War. Kane was then thirty-five years old and the scion of a prominent Philadelphia family with whom Buchanan was acquainted but not close. Kane supported multiple humanitarian causes, including the antislavery and prison reform movements. Since the mid-1840s, attracted by the Mormons' status as a persecuted minority, he had become their most prominent advocate and defender, although he was not a Latter-day Saint and rejected many of their religious tenets, such as polygamy. In 1846 Kane traveled to LDS refugee camps in Iowa to assist their trek to the Salt Lake Valley and to facilitate recruitment of the Mormon Battalion for the U.S. Army during the Mexican-American War. In 1850 he advised President Fillmore on federal appointees for the newly established Utah Territory (including Brigham Young's selection as governor) and delivered a major address sympathetic to Mormonism before the elite Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia. During 1852 he helped mute eastern newspaper criticism of Young when the federal judges assigned to the territory had fled Utah en masse the previous fall. In 1856 Kane strategized with Young on how best to seek statehood for the territory. When James Buchanan took office on March 4, 1857, Kane was clerk to the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia over which his father, Judge John K. Kane, had long presided.[12]

In January 1857, apprehensive that Buchanan would not reappoint him as governor, Brigham Young reached out to Kane again in hopes that he might influence the president-elect. Young's plea reached Kane in March in the midst of the uproar in the new administration over the latest accusations about inappropriate governance in Utah. He immediately swung into action, appealing to the president, attorney general, and other influential people in Washington on the Mormons' behalf. Although he was neither the Democratic Party stalwart nor the Buchanan colleague that his father was, the younger Kane assumed that the president would give his request to meet in person careful thought as the cabinet focused on Utah affairs. Buchanan never responded. Interpreting this silence as a humiliating rebuff and beset by personal problems, Kane notified Brigham Young of his failure and withdrew from Mormon affairs, warning Young that "Mr. Buchanan is a timorous man . . . we can place no reliance upon the President: he succumbs in more respects than one to outside pressure. You can see from the [news]papers how clamorous [they are] for interference with Utah affairs. Now Mr. Buchanan has not heart enough to save his friends from being thrown over to stop the mouths of a pack of Yankee editors."[13]

Months later, on November 9, alarmed by a combination of urgent messages from Brigham Young, rumors of bloodshed in Utah, and army reports of Mormon determination to resist its Utah Expedition, Kane traveled to Washington to meet with President Buchanan four weeks before Congress was scheduled to reconvene. It was an occasion on which Buchanan would need to speak publicly for the first time about Utah affairs.

Kane later described this November visit to the White House as inconclusive, with Buchanan troubled but "reluctant to admit that he had committed any error" in sending the troops.[14] Three days after Kane's return to Philadelphia on November 10, first news reached the Atlantic Coast of Young's provocative and illegal proclamation of martial law, the Mormon Nauvoo Legion's destruction of more than a million

Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia (1822–1883), longtime friend of the Mormons and self-appointed Utah War mediator. Ailing, beleaguered, and financially strapped, Kane (alias "Dr. Osborne") undertook a risky winter mission to Utah in 1858 without either President Buchanan's support or Brigham Young's awareness. It was a gratuitous effort to prevent further bloodletting in the Utah War that sheds light on the character and behavior of all three men. *Photograph by Elizabeth Wood Kane. Harold B. Lee Library, Kane Family Papers, box 74, fd. 6, item 104.*

dollars' worth of army materiel, and the calamitous loss of civilian lives in the massacre at Mountain Meadows. Unknown at that time was the fact that in the fall of 1857 Young had authorized the Nauvoo Legion to use lethal force—directing the Legion to kill the army's officers first—if the Utah Expedition moved west of Fort Bridger toward the Salt Lake Valley.

The fat was in the fire; with these acts Brigham Young had crossed a Rubicon of sorts that transformed a rancorous territorial-federal confrontation into an armed rebellion. On December 8 Buchanan sent his first annual message to Congress. He declared Utah to be in rebellion and requested authorization to expand the army by four regiments to prosecute the campaign. Buchanan presented Congress with no strategy for ending the war other than the continued application of overwhelming military force.[15]

These developments led both Kane and Buchanan to consider new approaches. As Kane later put it, "my thoughts turning after this upon Utah matters and examining fully into the subject the conviction gained upon me that I was perhaps leaving undone that which I ought to have done. Inquiring about among Mormons and others, I learned more than I had known of the different [travel] approaches to the [Great] Basin and learned that whatever might be the case with regard to myself, other men were able at that very date to penetrate to Salt Lake City."[16]

The day after President Buchanan sent his message to Congress, his Philadelphia political advisor, James C. Van Dyke, moved to refocus the president on the possibility of resolving the Mormon problem peacefully through Thomas L. Kane—contrary to what Buchanan had just announced. Van Dyke was motivated by his awareness that Kane's relationship with the Mormons was unique as well as by the realization that a restless Congress was beginning to shift aggressively into an investigatory, partisan posture with regard to the administration's Utah policy. Against this background he wrote to Buchanan on December 9 to describe Kane's current thinking about Mormon affairs and to propose a second White House meeting to explore Kane's growing desire to serve at his own expense as an intermediary to resolve the Utah War. Van Dyke concluded that "he is full of courage, and if his judgment is correct, he may be able to avert a war of extermination against a poor deluded race."[17]

Van Dyke's intervention produced results. On the night of December 25 he and Kane interrupted their Christmas, traveled to Washington, and the next day met with Buchanan at the Executive Mansion. Kane spent much of this interview trying to convince the president that he intended to go to Utah and deflecting Buchanan's counter-arguments that the trip was too hazardous from weather, Indians, and suspicious Mormons only a few months after the latter's then-murky role in the Mountain Meadows massacre. By Kane's account he

refused Buchanan's repeated offer to commission him as some sort of official emissary and to pay his travel expenses from the government's "secret service fund." He emphasized that his safety, credibility, and effectiveness among the Mormons hinged on preserving his autonomy as a free agent and private citizen. The president reportedly committed to providing Kane with nothing more than letters of introduction to facilitate his trip. Kane apparently asked Buchanan for the power to recommend executive clemency in the cases of individual Mormons and indicated to the president that meeting with Young he intended to raise the advisability of a mass Mormon exodus from Utah and presumably the country.

Van Dyke later told Kane that Buchanan thought "the undertaking a very hazardous one, fraught with dangers and difficulties on all sides; that he did not believe it was possible for you to reach Salt Lake at that season of the year; and that even if you should he could not help doubting whether any good would result from your visit." Van Dyke reported to the president that Kane was determined to go either with or without "the sanction and approbation of the Administration." Kane appreciated the president's confidence; according to Kane's account, during the meeting "the expression of [Buchanan's] face was most affectionate," and the president offered "numerous express kind and friendly words, rallying my pride of family, and convincing me that at least I would not be forgotten by him, if my life was thrown away."[18]

Kane returned home on the evening of December 29, 1857, determined to visit Utah if he could clear two hurdles: obtaining an appropriate understanding and related set of credentials from Buchanan, and negotiating the approval of his family. Back in Philadelphia, Van Dyke informed the president that Kane had been "perfectly charmed with his interview with you, and satisfied that it is your determination to speed him all you can in his intended expedition to Utah." According to Van Dyke, Kane's only worry was whether Buchanan would provide him with a letter signaling his authority to grant amnesty to Mormons in individual cases.

But Kane's family was very much opposed to his going to Utah. Judge Kane thought that his son's mission would be a failure, and he worried about losing him after his son Elisha's death earlier in the year. Tom's wife, Elizabeth, eventually supported his decision, recognizing that her husband viewed such a mission as a calling and hoping that performing it would bolster his recent acceptance of Christianity at her urging after a life of agnosticism. And so at year-end 1857 Kane resigned his clerkship in his father's court—his sole source of income—and, after making scant financial provision for his wife and two young children, set out for Utah on a mission of unknown duration with uncertain outcome on behalf of a reviled people whose religion he did not accept but with whom he had developed a friendship.

At the last moment before leaving Philadelphia for New York, Kane received three letters from President Buchanan. They were disappointing. Given the criticism of his Utah policy then developing in Congress, Buchanan attempted with this material to distance himself should Kane's secret mission become known, controversial, or a failure, while at the same time on a personal basis wishing him well. Was this understandable, prudent, and ethical political behavior on Buchanan's part or less admirable conduct? Given Kane's naiveté and the daunting risks he was running, this chain of events strikes me as a telltale example of the president's lack of forth rightness, if not worse.

The letters contained no reference to presidential pardons for Mormons or even Thomas's ability to recommend them. Essentially, Buchanan described Kane to whomever might read the letters as a private, free-lancing do-gooder without governmental status or backing. As credentials, the letters were thin gruel and cold comfort. George Plitt and John W. Forney—the now-jaundiced former friends of the president, both in Philadelphia—and Pat Kane (Thomas's skeptical younger brother) immediately recognized the letters for what they were: what today is called "plausible deniability." Elizabeth Kane recorded their reactions in 1858 and commented: "[they] think Mr. B. has behaved badly. His exceedingly noncommittal letters are, they say, 'Buck all over, so that if Mr. K[ane] succeeds, he may approve him, if he fails disavow him.'" After the Civil War, Elizabeth looked back on these events

harshly invoking the behavior of Pontius Pilate with Christ: "so Buchanan washed his hands of the blood that Kane might lose."[19]

Nevertheless, on January 5, 1858, Thomas L. Kane boarded *S. S. Moses Taylor* in New York Harbor cloaked dramatically in the alias "Dr. A. Osborne," a scientist supposedly intent on collecting western botanical specimens for a Philadelphia museum. Ironically, one of Kane's fellow-passengers was William Tecumseh Sherman of Lancaster, Ohio. Sherman was then a former army captain and unemployed banker bound for California in hopes of recouping his fortunes by appointment as colonel of one of the volunteer regiments then being recruited on the Pacific Coast to reinforce the Utah Expedition through the opening of a second front.[20]

Space does not permit here a full description of Kane's travels to Utah via Panama and California or of his complex maneuverings in Utah. Suffice it to say that Kane's self-imposed mission revolved primarily around his determination to prevent further bloodshed in the Utah War. As early as November he had been alarmed by fairly accurate newspaper accounts of the death toll at Mountain Meadows as well as fictive descriptions of casualties from non-existent skirmishes between the army and Brigham Young's Nauvoo Legion.

Much of Kane's anxiety about bloodshed came from his mistaken belief that the Utah Expedition was out-matched, with Young supposedly powerful enough to annihilate it. Before heading west, he told his wife "that if the Mormons overwhelmed the little U.S. Army encamped there, they in turn would inevitably be overwhelmed, crushed out of existence by a nation bent on vengeance." Once he reached San Bernardino, California, he restated these fears, writing Judge Kane "I cannot honorably reveal even to you, my father, the [army's] peril. Had you known all you would not have opposed my coming here. The day may be, and probably is past to make peace, but not to save our poor [army] fellows. Have no fear for my life, the [biblical] cloud and pillar will be my escort. I swear I will arrive [in Utah] in time." Even after reaching the Utah Expedition's winter quarters and finding Johnston's command "safe," Thomas remained apprehensive while nurturing the exaggerated notion that, because he could influence Brigham Young, he alone stood between the army and its obliteration. Writing to Judge Kane from Fort Bridger, he commented with cavalier self-importance, "My private News for you? – Well, the Troops are saved, at least until I wave my handkerchief."[21]

There are signs that Kane's mission to Utah also sprang from more complex psychological needs. Kane told President Buchanan in December 1857 that in going to Utah he was seeking to "prove" himself. After he returned from Utah, Thomas told Utah's delegate in Congress "he would have the world know that he made his journey at his own expense, in the interest of the whole United States, and of humanity as well as the friends he loves in Utah." There are no clear signs that Kane's fragile Christian faith prompted him to view his mission in religious terms, although Elizabeth certainly saw it that way.[22]

In Kane's inner life there was a drive to emulate, if not surpass, the adventures of his deceased older brother, Dr. Elisha Kent Kane. During the Mexican-American War, "Elish" had couriered secret dispatches for General Scott, traveled the world as a naval surgeon, and served as an Arctic explorer in search of Sir John Franklin's long-missing British polar expedition. By the time of Dr. Kane's death from tuberculosis in February 1857 at age thirty-six, publicity about these adventures had conferred celebrity status. Elisha Kane was the nation's most famous scientist, with a funeral cortege so elaborate that it exceeded any staged in the United States between the deaths of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.[23]

During the month following Elisha's death, Tom startled his family by proposing his own expedition to the Arctic, an undertaking they refused to support. As Thomas departed for Utah in January 1858, his brother John tried to explain Kane's behavior to his parents and siblings in terms of an existential need for activity and outdoor stimulation:

> Tom is never so well as when exposed to what would kill most men of his build, and that hard life in open air (no matter how hard) always agrees with him better than the most tranquil of sedentary existence. . . . At home Tom's big soul was preying on

> his body. The loss of dear Elish, and the crushing blow which this financial crisis gave to his hopes of organizing a new expedition [to the Arctic] were killing him by inches. He is too great a man to occupy himself with trifles. . . . Now [in Utah] he has got an object large enough and noble enough to draw his thoughts away from the poor self on which they were fading and I can't help hoping that his physical man will improve in consequence. However be the result of what it may be [,] the object is grand and noble and does him and the family honor.[24]

Later—alone, lost in the Rockies, and trapped in a blizzard while trying to reach a secret rendezvous with Nauvoo Legion emissaries hovering outside the army's lines at Fort Bridger—Thomas chose to describe his wilderness ordeal as a "magical storm" as well as an energizing, mystical experience part of his destiny: "This is the discipline adapted for my nature, and I should have more of it. I should live in the stone fortress on the rocks of the moon." For Kane, that storm, like the war itself, "compelled an active struggle with the danger it threatened. It was a grand & solemn enactment productive of the highest poetical impression."[25]

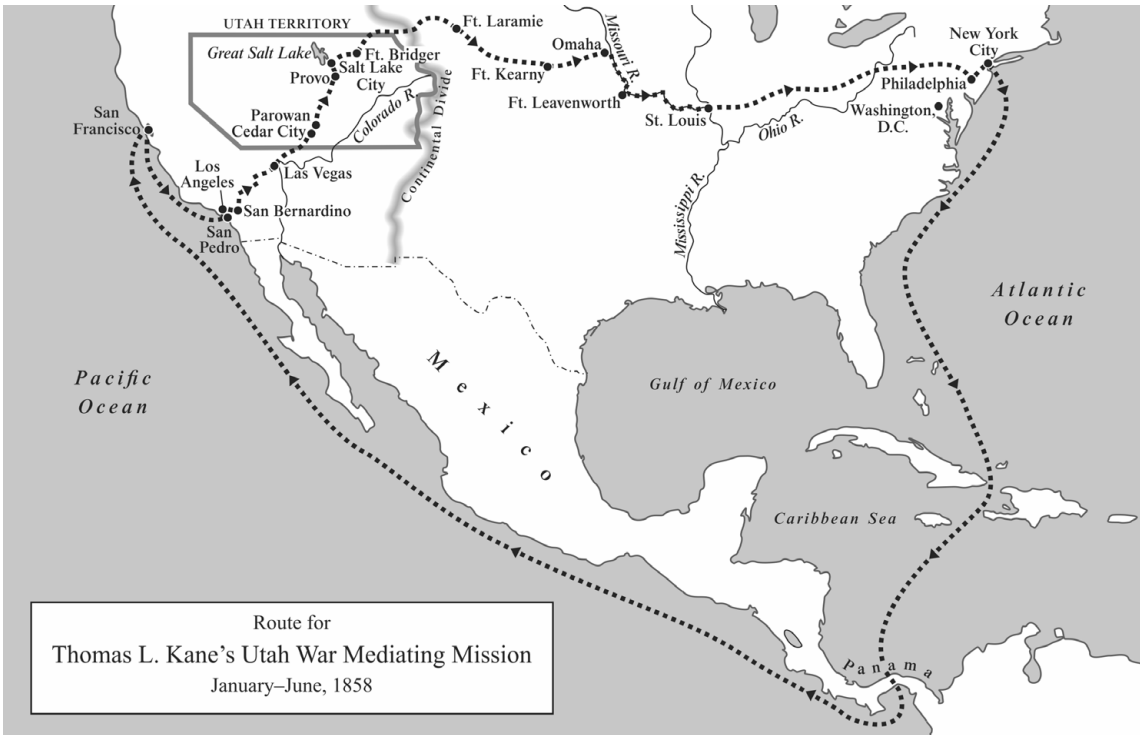
Years later Elizabeth would explain her husband's persistent need to bound off on such distant missions with the whimsical thought that he "has a great horror of growing old . . . [and wants to] die out of my sight, [so] that I will remember him as the ideal hero who won my child's heart, and not see him grow old and gray."[26]

How Kane intended to carry out this ambitious undertaking in poor health during a western winter was surprisingly unplanned. In this sense, Kane's reliance on improvisation was akin to Brigham Young and James Buchanan's ad hoc decision-making to conduct the very conflict that Kane was attempting to resolve.[27] Although he had pre-booked steamship passage from New York to northern California, only upon reaching San Francisco did he come to grips with how best to reach Salt Lake City. After probing the realities of traveling north to Oregon Territory before continuing to Fort Hall and Utah, Kane opted instead to sail south to San Pedro where he would take the more southerly snow-free Old Spanish Trail. In Los Angeles and San Bernardino his frantic efforts to hire a driver and wagon for an unscheduled trip across the Mojave Desert unexpectedly drew attention of the very kind he sought to avoid in assuming an alias. In San Bernardino, Kane's conspicuous efforts to arrange transportation coupled with his mysterious reclusiveness were nearly fatal, arousing the suspicions of anti-Mormon vigilantes from whom he fled across the desert under cover of darkness.[28]

Among the vagaries associated with Kane's travels were the means by which he was to finance them. Unemployed and without either government support or significant personal savings, he essentially made do by periodically writing drafts on his father's assets—this at a time when his financially strapped wife and two toddlers were forced to room with his elderly parents.

Perhaps most emblematic of the impromptu, impulsive nature of Kane's mission to Utah was the fact that his arrival in first Salt Lake City and then Fort Bridger was a complete surprise to Brigham Young, Governor Alfred Cumming, and Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston—the three men other than President Buchanan whom he most needed to influence. After the Civil War, Elizabeth Kane captured the improvised character of her husband's 1858 trek: "Tom's plan was to go in disguise to Utah by way of California, winter though it was, and to make his unexpected appearance at Young's very gates, relying upon his own mental force and Young's knowledge of the sincerity of his goodwill to the Mormons. He actually intended to turn a whole people's will, and make them ask for peace in the hour of their triumph [over the army]."[29]

Kane's major accomplishment upon reaching Utah was to gain the trust of Young and other Mormon leaders, while convincing Cumming to travel to Salt Lake City from Fort Bridger to claim his office without the army escort that had accompanied him west. This effort resulted in Young reluctantly ceding the governorship to Cumming and publicly recognizing him as such. Kane's accomplishment did not of itself end the war, but it put in place a crucial arrangement that laid the groundwork for the



Kane's 6,000-mile transcontinental mission to Utah, January–June 1858. Neither Buchanan nor Young would travel to meet and seek common ground, but Kane was willing to do so at great personal sacrifice. Trekking alone, in failing health, winter weather, and daunting western terrain, he traveled by train, steamship, wagon, and horseback across two continents and three oceans to lay the foundation for the war's resolution in a way that no one else could have done. It was an accomplishment that left Kane unemployed, financially pressed, and temporarily depressed—one that James Buchanan recognized publicly with a single written sentence. *Map by Mary Lee Eggart, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 2018.*

real end of the conflict's military phase. This task fell to two peace commissioners appointed by Buchanan without Kane's knowledge who arranged the Utah Expedition's peaceful entrance into the Salt Lake Valley to garrison Utah and convinced Young to accept Buchanan's blanket pardon for the territory's entire population.[30]

In May, before the peace commissioners' arrival, Kane left Utah to return home after learning that his father had died on February 21. Unwittingly, Judge Kane's passing had set in motion events leading to the destruction of James Buchanan's relationship with his son and others. Meanwhile the Kane family fretted that Buchanan's peace commissioners would upstage any credit for his herculean efforts to mediate the war and that the president might actually disavow any understandings which Kane had forged with Young.[31]

Judge John K. Kane had been on the U.S. district court bench in Philadelphia since 1846. His death opened an important position long unavailable and for which there was no shortage of hopefuls. Briefly, the judge's family thought that the president might nominate an absent Thomas to the vacant judgeship, but then fell to discussing the handful of more prominent or better-connected candidates and the likely impact of their appointments on the filling of the court clerkship that Thomas Kane had resigned to go to Utah. The family's hope was that if Buchanan would not appoint the son to the judgeship, a presumably grateful president would facilitate a return to his old clerkship and perhaps even appoint his attorney-brother Pat to the legal reporter's position in the same court. It was a semi-desperate anxiety aggravated by the family's March 1 receipt of Tom's January 21 letter from Acapulco in which he nervously speculated about the continued availability of the clerkship he had abandoned.[32]

In her journal, Elizabeth Kane, like Sophie Plitt, expressed ambivalence about the president's reliability while torn between loathing

the patronage system and fantasizing about the financial benefits of such an appointment:

> I care for no earthly honor so highly as to be the wife and chosen friend of whom I most respect. But I never could bear him to mix in party politics—vile they are, and I know he feels them so—and I did what I could to keep him from them, for his health's sake, physical and moral. . . . No, no Tom. Since He whose servants we are, said Marriage *is* holy, we can be Sir Galahad and St. Agnes, and we *will* leave an unspotted name to our children, if we must live on bread and water. – Do not let us *think* of an office as a reward from Buchanan for your work. You did not undertake it for that, and even if he would give you one, what is there that he could give that you would want? A consulship? Nothing that would carry you away from your old [widowed] mother would you like at all. Were the [Philadelphia court] clerkship to be given for life, and in the President's power to give, it would be a great thing. Well, if God means you to have it, he will give it. He will take care of us.[33]

To fill the vacant judgeship, Buchanan nominated a close friend, John Cadwalader, an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania and a Philadelphia lawyer from a venerable, socially prominent family who had been a one-term congressman. Kane returned home from Utah in late June 1858 to find that James Buchanan had filled his father's judgeship two months earlier. Much to his wife's dismay, Kane spent only one day at home, during which they argued over their precarious finances and plans for the future, then continued on to Washington to report to the president.

Upon reaching the Executive Mansion, Tom found Buchanan at his soothing best. Elizabeth Kane recorded a secondhand account of what happened in her journal:

> I write down all I can remember of his interview with the President upon his return. The President was waiting for him, he was told; he turned someone away as T. came into the Hall. Up there he met Mr. [Senator William] Bigler, however. The President taking T's hand with effusion, "Colonel Kane." T.L.K. "Well, Sir, Have I been as good as my word?" Jas. B. "Better—More than as good as your word." (More effusion and words of thanks) "Sit down, you look fatigued. How are you?" (Here Mr. Bigler left, the President saying he would see him some other time.) J.B. "Now tell me all about it." T.L.K. "Well, it is all true, or 'all so'." Being that it was, and better than he had yet heard, he [Buchanan] thanked God with some solemnity, and immediately after, "But these poor creatures—is there much suffering among them? Will they be homeless (or some such phrase) next winter? Have they food enough? – I rejoice to hear it. If they had food enough—that is what I wanted to know." He was here silent "saying grace probably" Tom said, as he was then. "Now tell me about it" he said and Tom went on. That Saturday evening and part of Monday morning he explained a few matters of the past but the whole of the 5 days spent in Washington with the president and Cabinet were given to the exhibition of such facts as bore upon the future.[34]

During that week Kane tried to convince Buchanan, Secretary of War Floyd, and the rest of the cabinet to adopt his recommendations for forging amicable relations between the federal government and territory of Utah. Kane proposed, among other things, the recall of almost all of Buchanan's federal appointees except Governor Cumming. Characterizing the president as "sly," Elizabeth later commented that the administration heeded none of what her husband recommended.[35] With respect to patronage, Elizabeth Kane's recollection was that during this visit the president considered appointing Tom to "the embassy to [the Kingdom of] Naples, as hush money." Tom reportedly declined the appointment on the basis that, in the words of Elizabeth, "it was hopeless for an Abolitionist to seek to obtain an appointment" and that he "knew that Buchanan would not press his confirmation sufficiently to give him a chance with the Senate."[36]

Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane (1836–1909). Skeptical of President Buchanan's motives and steadfastness from the outset of his relationship with her husband, Elizabeth assumed responsibility for the care of their two small children under her in-laws' roof as Thomas set out for Utah on a mission of unknown duration with uncertain outcome on behalf of a reviled people whose religion he did not accept and to whom she was openly hostile. Photo taken May 12, 1858, Elizabeth's twenty-second birthday, about a month before Tom's return home. *Harold B. Lee Library, Kane Family Papers, box 74, fd. 6, item 108.*

Upon returning home from Washington, Kane collapsed from one of the many illnesses that had plagued him throughout his Utah mission. Frustrated by his inability to influence the administration, he vowed to withdraw from Mormon affairs. On July 15 Judge Cadwalader filled his clerkship with a stranger, not the unemployed Thomas L. Kane.

At this point Kane's view of Buchanan was ambivalent. Notwithstanding his lack of success in moving the administration, he told Elizabeth that "the President & Cabinet . . . were honest and [had] open differences of opinion, and if he did not convince [them] at once, what wonder, seeing that the truth had been kept from them by designing persons and they no doubt heard it from him for the first time." During the summer he reminded his brother Pat, a skeptic about Buchanan's motives and steadfastness, that the president's flattery and kindness during their post-Christmas meeting had buoyed him during his most difficult days in Utah.

But in mid-July Kane's views changed dramatically, perhaps because of an awareness that Cadwalader's initial offer of his old clerkship had been to J. Buchanan "Buck" Henry, the president's nephew and the judge's protégé while Henry had studied law in Philadelphia. Decades later, Buck Henry described Cadwalader as "my warm personal friend," and wrote,

> he tendered me the clerkship of his court, a permanent and honorable position, and one that I should have been willing to accept. . . . I consulted Mr. Buchanan as to its acceptance by me, and on finding that he entertained serious reasonable objections to my doing so, I declined the compliment. The President said the public might justly infer that there had been some previous understanding between him and the new judge, and that however erroneous such a conclusion would be, it would be natural. Inasmuch, therefore, as my acceptance might work injury, both to the President and his excellent appointee, I quickly made my decision.[37]

Buchanan's sensitivities apparently did not also run to Kane's likely perceptions. Accordingly, on July 18, 1858, Kane wrote Brigham Young, "Buchanan's is certainly the most corrupt administration he has ever had to [deal] with. The old man fears [decisiveness] to[o] much to love him but this he considers a most Salutary State of mind."[38]

Thus disillusioned with the president and in the middle of a physical collapse, Kane was beset by weeks of brooding and a need for seclusion not unlike the blues then afflicting Brigham Young. It was a low from which William Wood, Kane's father-in-law, tried to pull him with a perceptive reminder of both his

accomplishments and the courage he had mustered in facing adversity on a grand scale:

> Perhaps the depression is only what ought [to] have been expected after the high strung enthusiasm which carried you so triumphantly through your Mormon mission. You attained your object of preventing bloodshed fully. Therefore thank God for having been the instrument in His hands of effecting that good. Think how much you have had to go through during the last 10 months, including as they do very extraordinary illness and your father's death. Who would have ventured to prophecy in September 1857 that you could have passed through the trials you have since undergone and been alive to tell the tale. Yet God has spared you & for some good end.

Three years later, with Tom in the Union Army as a lieutenant colonel (and soon a major general), Elizabeth Kane reminded her husband that Mr. Wood had also said, "I can't help thinking that he is destined to make his mark on these times, that [his] Utah journey . . . may all have been the Maker's preparation for a work He had on hand for him to do."[39]

During his June 1858 visit to the White House, Kane had told the president he did not intend to seek public recognition for his efforts to mediate the Utah War. As Elizabeth Kane saw it, her husband "felt as if 'glory of men' would sully the offering he had made to God. He felt, very humbly and yet very proudly that God had accepted him as a[n] instrument. He could not have done what he did through his own strength alone. Let those who wanted it have the credit—this feeling was enough for him." Buchanan took Kane at his word and all but ignored him thereafter. Elizabeth summarized the situation with a medievalism: "The page slew the bear, the peer had the gloire."[40]

Thomas Kane's friends chafed under this treatment. On November 17 Eli K. Price, a prominent Pennsylvania Democrat and mutual friend of Buchanan and Kane, petitioned the president to note Kane's mission to Utah "in your Annual Message [to Congress]. He has not felt at liberty to defend himself against misrepresentations, nor can we advise him to do so while it might prejudice any public interest." Diplomatically, Price explained that he made this suggestion "fearing the pressure of important matters might occasion [your] forgetfulness of what some of us believe it would be a pleasure to you to do."[41] Thus pressured, Buchanan added a single sentence to his December 6, 1858 State of the Union address through which he simultaneously recognized and distanced himself from Kane. The president told Congress, "I cannot, in this connection, refrain from mentioning the valuable services of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who, from motives of pure benevolence, and without any official character or pecuniary compensation, visited Utah during the last inclement winter for the purpose of contributing to the pacification of the Territory."[42] It was presidential appreciation of a stripe characterized by Pat Kane and Buchanan's disaffected friends as "Buck all over."

Within a week of Buchanan's message—and perhaps because of it—Kane found a way to strike back at President Buchanan's ingratitude. Energized, he shook off his vow of anonymity and disengagement from Utah affairs to stimulate an invitation to lecture at the New-York Historical Society in Manhattan, much as he had spoken at the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1850. He began to gather materials for an address in defense of Alfred Cumming. The Utah governor was then in serious danger of removal by Buchanan because of political criticism that, with Kane's connivance, Brigham Young had co-opted and transformed Cumming into a Mormon puppet. Kane intended his lecture to out-maneuver a president who was skilled in the manipulative art of what Young called "wire-working." The strategy worked; once Kane delivered and publicized the March 21, 1859, lecture, it was virtually impossible for Buchanan to recall Cumming. The Utah governor remained in office until the eve of the Civil War.

Shortly after Kane spoke, George Q. Cannon, the Mormon apostle serving as Young's Atlantic Coast agent and liaison with Kane, reported to Young that the lecture was "masterly," and it "has had the desired effect, and firmly propped up Governor C. for the present." Cannon

described Kane as "very well satisfied with the result." Having helped Kane to publicize his lecture nationally, Cannon went on to tell Brigham Young,

> when it was known in Washington that a lecture had been delivered on such a subject, the Chief Magistrate [Buchanan] was quite anxious to know what had been said, and how far it agreed with or contradicted his own statements in regard to the share Governor Cumming had taken in the settlement of the [Utah War] difficulties. I presume he was afraid that his own one-sided statement, in which he so magnifies the part taken by his peace commissioners in the settlement of affairs, and almost ignores every body else, would be impugned or contradicted; but he felt much relieved when heard how it was.

Years later, a Mormon editor described the speech as one to which "the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan silently bowed," while remaining "terribly chagrined."[43]

CONTEXT

This article is neither biography nor psychohistory, yet I would argue that as a matter of common sense the sources show James Buchanan's behavior to have been a mixed bag. Without denigrating Buchanan's many acts of generosity, on balance he was a "taker" rather than a "giver." As a newly inaugurated president he immersed himself and the cabinet for months in the daunting task of adjudicating thousands of competing patronage requests. Over the decades before he became president, as well as during his time in the Executive Mansion, Buchanan wrote hundreds of such pleas and testimonials on behalf of the party faithful, but he appears to have done so as a matter of political obligation rather than with gusto and palpable enthusiasm.[44]

Buchanan's tenacity in recommending James Van Dyke for the U.S. attorney's position in Philadelphia during March 1853 and John Appleton for posts at first the American legation in London in 1853 and then at the state department in Washington during 1857 was rare. It is telling that even in these cases he arranged for his confidants to assume roles that served his best interests rather than theirs. In Appleton's case, even before Franklin Pierce had formally asked Buchanan to serve as U.S. minister to the Court of St. James in 1853, Old Buck told Harriet Lane that, "should it be [extended and] accepted, it will be on the express condition that I shall have the liberty to choose my own Secretary of Legation. . . . I would select some able, industrious, hard-working friend, in whose integrity & prudence I could place entire reliance." Whether he knew it or not, the man he had in mind for this post was Appleton, who had previously worked with Buchanan in the Polk administration's State Department. Two years later, with both men ensconced in the American legation in London, Buchanan complained to Harriet, "Mr. Appleton goes home by this steamer. . . . I resisted his importunities to go home as long as I could, but the last letter from his wife was of such a character that I could no longer resist. He is a perfect secretary, as well as an excellent friend."[45]

It is difficult to find a situation in which Buchanan spent political capital and invested his reputation to argue vigorously for a friend or supporter in need of such help in their own best interests. To the contrary, when faced with a direct request from a friend, the president tended to recoil, responding with either coldness or flattering but unproductive assurances of the type with which he soothed Kane's ego in June 1858 upon his return from Utah. Perhaps the demands of a needy but deeply flawed John W. Forney and of an aggressive, persistent Dr. Foltz warranted rejection. Less defensible was Buchanan's unwillingness to facilitate Kane's resumption of the clerkship in Philadelphia that he had resigned in December 1857 to travel more than 6,000 miles in brutal weather at great risk and sacrifice to mediate the Utah War.

When even close friends were embroiled in failure or controversy, Buchanan's default position was to distance himself by quietly "dropping" them, for fear that continued association would taint his own image. In most such circumstances, Buchanan abandoned the relationship while applying the faintly judgmental

label "poor" to the struggling former intimate. Perhaps most troubling to those involved was Buchanan's willingness to sacrifice the best interests—even livelihood—of his closest friends to advance his political agenda through other supplicants, some of them strangers. The problematic disposition of J. Glancy Jones's cabinet aspirations and the forced resignation of a financially strapped George Plitt, a virtual family member, are examples of such prioritization. To me it is emblematic that when Kane wrote home from Acapulco, Mexico, while traveling to California and Utah in late January 1858, he worried about two issues not even in the president's thoughts: the need to find employment for George Plitt, and the hope that he could reclaim the court clerkship he had resigned once he returned to Philadelphia.[46]

Beneath the surface of these behavioral cross currents lay a deviousness that British diplomats labeled "too clever by half." For example, in October 1855 John F. T. Crampton, the British plenipotentiary in Washington, confided to Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon that "the Buck is a very cunning old gentleman and a great schemer in matters of private interests."[47] Small wonder that when Frederick Moore Binder assessed the president's friendship with Clarendon, he chose for the title of his study "James Buchanan and the Earl of Clarendon: An Uncertain Relationship."[48]

In many respects this behavior took the form of a lack of forthrightness, even in dealings with intimates. Among the most graphic such cases was Buchanan's secret dispatch of Philadelphia lawyer Christopher Fallon to Madrid on December 13, 1857, to renew the president's longstanding efforts to buy Spanish Cuba. Buchanan directed him not only to sound out the Spanish royal family, with whom Fallon had extensive business connections, but to begin discussions with European bankers on two tracks: pressuring Spain to repay her enormous foreign debt; and arranging the means to finance an American purchase of Cuba. The latter was necessary since Buchanan had sought neither congressional authorization nor an appropriation for any such acquisition. One could argue that Buchanan's dispatch of Fallon in such fashion was a matter of prudent political maneuvering, but I believe that this gambit speaks more to the president's proclivity for deviousness when one considers he recruited Fallon for such a mission only five days after sending his State of the Union address to Congress without a single reference to Spain or Cuba. In his "Private & Confidential" instructions to Fallon, Buchanan assured him that "both you & those with whom you converse may rely with confidence upon my silence & discretion."[49]

Within days of Fallon's departure for Spain, James Van Dyke had, of course, arranged Thomas L. Kane's visit to the Executive Mansion to discuss his intended mediation of the Utah War. During this post-Christmas meeting the president chose not to comment on Kane's stated intent to advise Young on a Mormon exodus from Utah, notwithstanding his plans to seize northern Mexico following what he hoped would be a massive, army-induced southbound flight of Mormon refugees to Sonora and Chihuahua. Thus Buchanan allowed Kane, like Scott, to travel west a few days later unaware of his intent to buy Cuba or, failing that, to take the island as part of his broader Utah-Mexico-Cuba scheme. If Thomas L. Kane, Brigham Young, Winfield Scott, and perhaps Secretary of War John B. Floyd were all unwitting dupes in this latest episode of the president's longstanding lust for Cuba, so too was Congress.[50]

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, for more people than has been recognized, James Buchanan was not a friend and colleague who wore well over the long run. Because of widespread revulsion over the carnage of the Civil War, for which the Reynolds family and many others held Buchanan responsible, and perhaps because of the scope and character of his broken relationships with people like Kane, not until the Hoover administration was Buchanan honored with a monument in Washington, although Harriet Lane had funded one as early as the 1890s. When the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania decided whom to honor in the Capitol's National Statuary Hall, it by-passed its only president and instead sent statues of inventor Robert Fulton and John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, a Revolutionary War general. Ironically, Utah's contribution to this gallery includes a statue of Brigham Young, a man whom Buchanan replaced as governor, denounced to

Congress as a rebel, and saw indicted by federal grand juries for treason and murder.[51]

From his editorial perch in Philadelphia, John W. Forney poured on the invective during the Buchanan administration, with presidential inconstancy and ingratitude a major theme in his newspaper. In early 1859 Forney published a scathing piece titled "Mr. Buchanan and his Friends," stating, "No statesman in our country has ever proceeded upon the theory of sacrificing friendships and of conciliating enmities—none save Mr. Buchanan." On the president's last day in office Forney returned to this criticism: "Even those who envied your friends . . . were shocked at the manner in which you persecuted and hounded the men who, during many years of [Democratic Party] minority, had carried your cause upon their shoulders, until finally they placed you in the Presidential chair."[52]

Even allowing for Forney's own flaws and obvious bias, it is fair to ask (as he did) whether this was a president with the strength of character, political skills, warmth, and capacity to maintain relationships essential to leading a troubled nation on the brink of disunion. I think not. James Buchanan was a clever but scheming president at a time when the nation required different skills and personal qualities. Buchanan thought of himself as the country's "Chief Magistrate," not its Chief Executive or Commander in Chief. Buchanan's critics labeled him a duplicitous "doughface"—a northern man with southern principles. He was not a president who reciprocated the loyalty or earned the trust necessary to lead others (and their nation) away from a slide into the bloodbath of disunion.

This aspect of his character and political behavior was reflected in Buchanan's relationship to Kane during the Utah mission. At the beginning of the Utah War, Thomas L. Kane had taken James Buchanan's measure. He told Brigham Young, "we can place no reliance upon the President: he succumbs in more respects than one to outside pressure. . . . Now Mr. Buchanan has not heart enough to save his friends."[53] What Tom Kane came to realize after his arduous mission to Utah was that Buchanan was unreliable, ungrateful, and manipulative.

EPILOGUE

In 1866 Buchanan published his memoirs, and, in discussing the Utah War, he again confined his reference to Thomas L. Kane's role to the single sentence he had used in his 1858 State of the Union address to Congress. On June 1, 1868, Buchanan died, reviled by many who held him accountable for not leading the country away from the calamitous war that quickly followed the conflict in Utah. Ten months later, someone—perhaps the punctilious Eli Price—reminded Judge John Cadwalader that there was unfinished business among those whom the late president (and perhaps he) had treated shabbily. Driven by this thought, intimations of his own mortality, or perhaps an awareness that Kane, supported by Price, was then in Washington to lobby the Grant administration for appointment as Utah's governor, the judge immediately wrote to Kane.[54] Addressing Kane as "general" (Buchanan's reminiscences had ignored his sterling Civil War record and used the old title "colonel"), Cadwalader tried to settle at least his own emotional accounts. He said what the former president had been unable or unwilling to express about Kane's remarkable mission to Utah:

> What has occurred in a conversation of today induces me to think that as few of those who had especial knowledge of your patriotic devotion to our country's interests in 1857 and 1858 survive, and my own life cannot endure long, it may be a duty on my part to send you this attestation of the great value of your public services at that period. It is true that their importance and value were concisely stated in the President's [1858] Message to Congress. But this valuable Memorial may not render private testimony of public merit useless, where the witness possesses the knowledge which is accidentally mine. I write therefore to state that I believe that your previous associations with the Mormons made you the only person in the United States possessing the confidence of our government who could have undertaken your delicate and important mission to Utah, with the slightest chance of

> success; and that I am convinced that to our efforts, which I designate as *unaided* is due the pacific settlement of our difficulties with that people. They confided in you; and this confidence enabled you to avert a bloody war at the crisis of imminent peril. I say nothing of the personal danger to yourself of the expedition which you conducted alone. That is a subject on which it would be better that I should confer with others.[55]

If Cadwalader tried to trowel over Buchanan's neglect of Kane with this effusive letter of atonement, leaders of the Latter-day Saints never forgot Kane. By early 1883 Kane had become seriously ill and virtually crippled by his multiple Civil War wounds. Accordingly, on March 4, George Q. Cannon, a friend of twenty-five years standing, went out of his way to visit Kane in Philadelphia. Although neither man knew it, this was to be their last meeting, one that Cannon contemporaneously described: "Called upon General Kane who had retired, but who came down upon learning it was I. Was cordially received by Mrs. Kane and children and by the General. Had a very interesting visit of two and a half hours with him."

Kane died less than ten months later. On April 25, 1884, four months after the funeral, Cannon awoke with a start from a sound sleep inspired to honor Kane for eternity through his church's most sacred rituals. Later that day in the Salt Lake Temple, George Q. Cannon baptized Thomas L. Kane and posthumously ordained him a Mormon elder. Kane had asked that his heart be buried in the Salt Lake Temple, a request not honored by his Presbyterian family. Cannon, however, pressed on with what Mormons call "temple work," rituals performed for the dead to elevate their status in the after-life. Those of Cannon's church colleagues present that day "all expressed great pleasure at this being done."[56] In the Celestial Room and other sacrosanct chambers of the Salt Lake Temple, it was a solemn but joyous occasion, one far different than the lonely scene in Lancaster, Pennsylvania's Woodward Hill Cemetery. There a forgotten, unmourned man lay buried beneath an elegant sarcophagus of white marble adorned only with eight words of temporal significance: "James Buchanan Fifteenth President of the United States."

Notes

Portions of this article have been submitted for inclusion in Michael J. Birkner, Randall M. Miller, and John W. Quist, eds., *The Worlds of James Buchanan and Thaddeus Stevens: Place, Personality, and Politics in the Civil War Era* (forthcoming, Louisiana State University Press).

1 See George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan: Fifteenth President of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883); Philip S. Klein, *President James Buchanan* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962); Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidency of James Buchanan* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1975); and Jean H. Baker, *James Buchanan* (New York: Times Books, 2004). Within the range of these biographies, this article is more critical of Buchanan's behavior and effectiveness than Curtis and Klein but less so than Smith and Baker.

2 Michael Todd Landis, "Old Buck's Lieutenant: Glancy Jones, James Buchanan, and the Antebellum Northern Democracy," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 140 (April 2016): 183–210; Buchanan to Harriet Lane, October 15, 1858, in John Bassett Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising His Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1910), 10:229. For context, see Sister Frances L. Conlin, "The Democratic Party of Pennsylvania from 1856 to 1865," *American Catholic Historical Society Records* 47 (June 1936): 132–83.

3 Buchanan to Harriet Lane, October 15, 1858, in Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10:230. For Robert Magraw's role as presidential friend and its benefits to his younger brother William, see MacKinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W. M. F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1963): 127–50.

4 Klein, *President James Buchanan*; Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). See also David E. Meerse, "Origins of the Buchanan-Douglas Feud Reconsidered," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67 (April 1974): 154–74.

5 Buchanan to Pierce, March 8, 1853, James Buchanan Papers, Waidner-Spahr Library, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Van Dyke has no biographer, and virtually nothing has been written about him except a few brief references to his dealings with President Buchanan and service as U.S. attorney in Philadelphia. See John Hill Martin, ed., *Martin's Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Rees Welsh and Co., 1883), 10, 319. The most substantial known collection of material about the Van Dyke-Buchanan relationship is in the author's research files.

6 Charles S. Foltz, *Surgeon of the Seas: The Adventurous Life of Jonathan M. Foltz in the Days of Wooden Ships* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931), 183–86, 189–90, 339.

7 Sophie Plitt to Harriet Lane, September 5, 1860, Buchanan Papers, quoted in Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 283. Ethan Greenberg argues that the clerkship held by Plitt since 1846 was used as a bargaining chip by president-elect Buchanan in late February 1857 to

influence the vote of Associate Justice Robert Grier of Pennsylvania to support the majority in the U.S. Supreme Court's then crucial but undecided case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. Grier wanted Plitt's clerkship to go to his son-in-law. Buchanan refused and instead offered the clerkship to Benjamin Patton, Justice Grier's fishing companion and the man who earlier had been instrumental in arranging President Polk's nomination of Grier to the Supreme Court. That Buchanan and Grier had corresponded improperly about the Dred Scott case just before the inauguration has long been known, but the assertion that George Plitt's clerkship was somehow involved in the maneuvering is not well understood. See Greenberg, *Dred Scott and the Dangers of a Political Court* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 175–77.

8 Buchanan to Gerard Hallock, June 29, 1861, quoted in William H. Hallock, *Life of Gerard Hallock, Editor of the New York Journal of Commerce* (1869; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1970), 242.

9 George D. Harmon, "President James Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 53 (1929): 51–91. See also Pearl T. Ponce, "Pledges and Principles: Buchanan, Walker, and Kansas in 1857," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 27 (Spring–Summer 2004): 87–99.

10 Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 426.

11 For the most recent scholarship on the war, from which this summary is derived, see two volumes in the Arthur H. Clark Company's Kingdom in the West series, MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 1: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858* (2008) and MacKinnon, ed., *At Sword's Point, Part 2: A Documentary History of the Utah War, 1858–1859* (2016); David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857–1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960).

12 Matthew J. Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Albert L. Zobell, *Sentinel in the East: A Biography of Thomas L. Kane* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr. Publisher, 1965).

13 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 73–77, 111–20, 135; Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden,"* 154–61.

14 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 405–11; Kane, memorandum, July 1858, Thomas L. Kane Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

15 Buchanan, "First Annual Message to Congress," December 8, 1857, in Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10:129–63.

16 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 405–11; Kane, memorandum, July 1858.

17 Van Dyke to Buchanan, December 9, 1857, Buchanan Papers.

18 The most complete record of what transpired between Messrs. Buchanan, Kane, and Van Dyke in the White House immediately after Christmas 1857 may be found in MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 485–87, 494–99, 501–3.

19 Ibid, 500–12; Van Dyke to Buchanan, December 29, 1857, Buchanan Papers; Elizabeth W. Kane, Diary, April 16, 1858, and Elizabeth W. Kane, "The Story of the Mother of the Regiment," vol. 2, ch. 3, typescript, both in Thomas L. and Elizabeth W. Kane Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

20 For Sherman's attempts during 1857–1858 to reenter the army for the Utah campaign, see MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 261–62.

21 Elizabeth D. W. Kane, "History of Kane [Pennsylvania]," vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 77, typescript, Kane Papers, BYU; Thomas L. Kane to Judge Kane, ca. February 5, 1858, Kane Collection, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT; Thomas L. Kane to Judge Kane, March 24–25, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU.

22 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 511; John M. Bernhisel to Young, December 11, 1857, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter CHL); *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 191–93.

23 David Chapin, "'Science Weeps, Humanity Weeps, the World Weeps': America Mourns Elisha Kent Kane," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123 (October 1999): 275–301.

24 John K. Kane, Jr., to family, January 21, 1858, John K. Kane Collection, APS. The financial crisis to which John alluded was partly a Kane family problem but more likely the severe national recession that began in the fall of 1857.

25 Kane, Diary II (1858), March 28, 1858, 8 and 8A, Thomas Leiper Kane Papers, Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University, typed transcription contained on microfilm copy at CHL. Eleven years later, Elizabeth would describe her husband in much the same way: "Tom is not made to be happy but to dwell on cold and naked cliffs. He would make a Xavier or Loyola or a Passcal . . . [Unlike Tom] I don't feel, when I come to realities the least particle of a call to go to Utah or anywhere else." Grow, "*Liberty to the Downtrodden*," 245.

26 Grow, "*Liberty to the Downtrodden*," 245.

27 For an example of this ad hoc behavior, see MacKinnon, "Off-the-Books Warfare: Financing the Utah War's Standing Army of Israel," in *Business and Religion: the Intersection of Faith and Finance*. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, BYU, forthcoming).

28 MacKinnon, *Across the Desert in 1858: Thomas L. Kane's Mediating Mission and the Mormon Women Who Made It Possible*, 35th Annual Juanita Brooks Lecture (St. George, UT: Dixie State University Library, 2018).

29 Elizabeth D. W. Kane, "History of Kane [Pennsylvania]," vol. 1, ch. 1, p. 76, Kane Papers, BYU.

30 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 187–243, 275–308, 347–81, 419–66, and 505–54.

31 Elizabeth W. Kane, Diary, entries for April–June 1858, Kane Papers, BYU.

32 See the "Business P.S." that Kane wrote at the end of the first volume of his travel diary. Kane, Diary I (1857–58), 64–65, Kane Papers, Stanford University.

33 Elizabeth W. Kane, Diary, entries for April–June 1858, Kane Papers, BYU.

34 Ibid.

35 Elizabeth W. Kane, "The Story of the Mother of the Regiment," vol. 2, ch. 3, Kane Papers, BYU.

36 Ibid.

37 Memorandum by J. Buchanan Henry for Curtis, *The Life of James Buchanan*, 1:237–38.

38 Memorandum accompanying Kane to Young, July 18,

1858, CHL.

39 William Wood to Kane, September 22, 1858 and Elizabeth to Kane, August 25, 1861, both Kane Papers, BYU.

40 Elizabeth W. Kane, "The Story of the Mother of the Regiment," vol. 2, ch. 3, Kane Papers, BYU.

41 Price to Buchanan, November 17, 1858, CHL. Interestingly, years later Brigham Young engaged Price, a non-Mormon, to draft his will.

42 Buchanan, "Second Annual Message of the President," December 6, 1858, Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10:245; Buchanan, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866), 238. Understanding the "why" of Buchanan's ungracious behavior remains elusive. If the president resented either the adulation heaped on Kane by some newspapers or the extent to which Kane indulged in unauthorized manipulative "wire-working" while in Utah, documentary confirmation has not surfaced. For Kane's problematic interactions with Brigham Young and Alfred Cumming, see MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 215–43, 275–308, 419–66, 495–504, 608–11.

43 Cannon to Young, April 6, 14, 1859, CHL; Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Co., 1886), 232–33; MacKinnon, ed., *"The Executive of Utah": Selected Utah War Documents and Commentary Relating to Thomas L. Kane's Lost Lecture in Defense of Governor Alfred Cumming, New-York Historical Society, 21 March 1859* (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2016).

44 The issue of patronage and its abuse would, of course, dog the character of Buchanan's administration on a long-term basis. During the Watergate hearings of the early 1970s, a congressionally sponsored study by historians of presidential misconduct concluded that such corruption "culminated and flourished most luxuriantly under Buchanan. . . . His administration marked the low point before the Civil War and somewhat approached later levels of corruption." C. Vann Woodward, ed., *Responses of the Presidents to Charges of Misconduct* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1974), xvi. See also two studies by David E. Meerse, "James Buchanan, the Patronage, and the Northern Democratic Party, 1857–1858" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1969) and "Buchanan's Patronage Policy: An Attempt to Achieve Political Strength," *Pennsylvania History* 40 (January 1973): 37–52.

45 Buchanan to Harriet Lane, March 19, 1853, and November 26, 1855, in Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 8:503, and Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, 2:155–56.

46 "Business P.S." in Kane, Diary I (1857–58), 64–65, Kane Papers, Stanford University.

47 Crampton to Clarendon, October 2, 1855, reprinted in James J. and Patience P. Barnes, eds., *Private and Confidential: Letters from British Ministers in Washington to the Foreign Secretaries in London, 1844–67* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1993), 138–39. In later assessing Prime Minister Lloyd George's behavior, Baron Noel Annan unwittingly used a descriptor that could have applied to James Buchanan: "In political warfare his charm was notorious for persuading people to do what he wanted while not incurring in his own mind any obligation toward them." Annan, "The Goat," *The New York Review of Books 18, no. 2* (February 10, 1972).

48 Frederick Moore Binder, "James Buchanan and the Earl of Clarendon: An Uncertain Relationship," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 6 (July 1995): 323–41.

49 Buchanan to Fallon, December 13, 1857, Buchanan Papers.

50 MacKinnon, "Hammering Utah, Squeezing Mexico, and Coveting Cuba: James Buchanan's White House Intrigues," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 80 (Spring 2012): 132–51; *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 174–86.

51 Homer T. Rosenberger, "Two Monuments for the Fifteenth President of the United States," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 78 (1974): 29–48. For unsuccessful attempts to rehabilitate Buchanan's presidential standing over the decades, see Stephen Patrick O'Hara, "'The Verdict of History': Defining and Defending James Buchanan through Public Memorialization" (Master's thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2012).

52 John W. Forney, Editorials, Philadelphia *Press*, February 10, 1859, and March 4, 1861.

53 MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 73–77, 111–20, 135; Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden,"* 154–61.

54 For the lobbying efforts of Kane and Price during the third week of April 1869, see Grow, "*Liberty to the Downtrodden*," 245–46, and Grow and Ronald W. Walker, eds., *The Prophet and the Reformer: The Letters of Brigham Young and Thomas L. Kane* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 392–95.

55 Cadwalader to Kane, April 19, 1869, Kane Papers, BYU.

56 George Q. Cannon, Journal, March 4, 1883, and April 25, 1884, in *The Journal of George Q. Cannon, 1849–1901*, accessed July 1, 2018, https://churchhistorianspress.org/george-q-cannon. Ironically, it was Buchanan who on May 19, 1858, wrote (but did not sign) a statement for publication in the Democratic Party's newspaper in Washington denying that Kane was a Mormon. Kane's Protestant family insisted that the president issue such a denial after speculation swept the country in the early spring about Kane's motives and religious affiliation. The latter was rooted in part by the public's murky understanding of Kane's "baptism for health" when he fell ill from fever during a visit to the Mormon refugee camps in Iowa in 1846, a far different rite than that performed by Apostle Cannon in 1884. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 2*, 400.

LIST OF NOMINATIONS

REPUBLICAN PARTY	SOCIALIST PARTY	DEMOCRATIC PARTY	SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY	PROGRESSIVE PARTY	
For United States Senator	For United States Senator	For United States Senator	For United States Senator	For United States Senator	For United States Senator
REED SMOOT	J. F. PARSONS	JAMES H. MOYLE		JAMES H. MOYLE	
For Representative in Congress Second Congressional District	For Representative in Congress Second Congressional District	For Representative in Congress Second Congressional District	For Representative in Congress Second Congressional District	For Representative in Congress Second Congressional District	For Representative in Congress Second Congressional District
E. O. LEATHERWOOD	A. H. KEMPTON	JAMES H. MAYS		JAMES H. MAYS	
For Justice of the Supreme Court	For Justice of the Supreme Court	For Justice of the Supreme Court	For Justice of the Supreme Court	For Justice of the Supreme Court	For Justice of the Supreme Court
WILLIAM M. McCARTY	FRANK B. SCOTT	FRANK B. STEPHENS		FRANK B. STEPHENS	
For Superintendent of Public Instruction	For Superintendent of Public Instruction	For Superintendent of Public Instruction	For Superintendent of Public Instruction	For Superintendent of Public Instruction	For Superintendent of Public Instruction
A. C. MATHESON	OLIVIA McHUGH	EPHRAIM G. GOWANS		EPHRAIM G. GOWANS	
For State Senators, Sixth District	For State Senators, Sixth District	For State Senators, Sixth District	For State Senators, Sixth District	For State Senators, Sixth District	For State Senators, Sixth District
CLARENCE G. BAMBERGER	JOHN W. SOWERS	GEORGE H. DERN		GEORGE H. DERN	
OSCAR W. CARLSON	JOHN N. SCHICK	FRANK EVANS		FRANK EVANS	
For State Representatives, Eighth District	For State Representatives, Eighth District	For State Representatives, Eighth District	For State Representatives, Eighth District	For State Representatives, Eighth District	For State Representatives, Eighth District
ANNIE WELLS CANNON	GEORGE ROTH	ELIZABETH A. HAYWARD	JAMES P. ERSKINE	ELIZABETH A. HAYWARD	
MAUDE S. GORHAM	J. C. WILLIAMS	LILLY C. WOLSTENHOLME	GEORGE J. MAACK	LILLY C. WOLSTENHOLME	
DAVID J. COOK	ALICE REITZ	DAN B. SHIELDS	ELIAS S. ANDERSON	DAN B. SHIELDS	
OLIVER R. DIBBLEE	A. M. SPANTON	W. B. ENNIS	THEODORE PETERSEN	W. B. ENNIS	
DAVID J. GREENE	W. M. WESLEY	J. LOUIS BROWN	OTTO SCHUETZGABEL	J. LOUIS BROWN	
REEMANN HILL	M. E. KING	THEODORE T. BURTON		THEODORE T. BURTON	
GIBSON A. MARR	C. A. REYNOLDS	GEORGE F. GOODWIN		GEORGE F. GOODWIN	
GEORGE F. WASSON	NELS NEALSON	EMILE L. LUND		EMIL S. LUND	
LOUIS R. WATTS	J. H. REEVES	THOMAS P. PAGE		THOMAS P. PAGE	
ELIAS S. WOODRUFF	C. L. GRAY	PARLEY P. CHRISTENSEN		PARLEY P. CHRISTENSEN	
For County Commissioner, Four-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Four-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Four-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Four-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Four-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Four-Year Term
THOMAS A. CALLISTER	E. P. BURT	CHARLES F. STILLMAN	MANIE S. PETERSEN	CHARLES F. STILLMAN	
For County Commissioner, Two-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Two-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Two-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Two-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Two-Year Term	For County Commissioner, Two-Year Term
JAMES W. CAHOON	FRED PETERS	JESSE H. WHEELER	FREDERICK HUST	JESSE H. WHEELER	
For County Clerk	For County Clerk	For County Clerk	For County Clerk	For County Clerk	For County Clerk
L. P. PALMER	EVA R. SMITH	THOMAS HOMER		THOMAS HOMER	
For County Sheriff	For County Sheriff	For County Sheriff	For County Sheriff	For County Sheriff	For County Sheriff
PETER S. CONDIE	P. J. McKENNA	JOHN S. CORLESS		JOHN S. CORLESS	
For County Treasurer	For County Treasurer	For County Treasurer	For County Treasurer	For County Treasurer	For County Treasurer
WILLIAM J. MOORE	A. G. GABRIELSON	RAYMOND C. NAYLOR		RAYMOND C. NAYLOR	
For County Attorney	For County Attorney	For County Attorney	For County Attorney	For County Attorney	For County Attorney
CHARLES M. MORRIS	JAMES A. SMITH	H. L. MULLINER		H. L. MULLINER	
For County Assessor	For County Assessor	For County Assessor	For County Assessor	For County Assessor	For County Assessor
WILLIAM A. LEATHAM	A. M. JARVIS	A. H. PARSONS		A. H. PARSONS	
For County Auditor	For County Auditor	For County Auditor	For County Auditor	For County Auditor	For County Auditor
EDWARD J. GROESBECK	E. G. LOCKE	CHARLES A. WEAVER		CHARLES A. WEAVER	
For County Recorder	For County Recorder	For County Recorder	For County Recorder	For County Recorder	For County Recorder
CLARENCE M. CANNON	EDNA WAMPLER	GEORGE H. ISLAUB		GEORGE H. ISLAUB	
For County Surveyor	For County Surveyor	For County Surveyor	For County Surveyor	For County Surveyor	For County Surveyor
GEORGE A. MOORE		R. E. L. COLLIER		R. E. L. COLLIER	
For Justice of the Peace	For Justice of the Peace	For Justice of the Peace	For Justice of the Peace	For Justice of the Peace	For Justice of the Peace
NICHOLAS G. MORGAN	A. FOSTER	L. R. MARTINEAU, JR.		L. R. MARTINEAU, JR.	
For Constable	For Constable	For Constable	For Constable	For Constable	For Constable
ELIAS C. EVANS	F. B. HIGBEE	W. R. GRAHAM		W. R. GRAHAM	

LIST OF NOMINATIONS FOR JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND CONSTABLES

Political Party.	Justice of the Peace.	Constable.
Salt Lake City Precinct.		
Election districts 1 to 54, 87, 93, 101, 102 and 104 to 118, inclusive.		
Republican.	Nicholas G. Morgan.	Elias C. Evans.
Democratic.	L. R. Martineau, Jr.	W. R. Graham.
Progressive.	L. R. Martineau, Jr.	W. R. Graham.
Socialist.	A. Foster.	F. B. Higbee.
Precinct No. 1—Districts 55, 62, 69.		
Republican.	W. H. Stout.	Orson Andrus.
Democratic.	Richard Howe.	Joseph H. Brinton.
Progressive.	Richard Howe.	J. H. Brinton.
Precinct No. 2—Districts 64, 68, 97, 100.		
Republican.	F. M. Bishop.	J. W. Duncan.
Democratic.	Lawrence C. Marfiser.	William H. Smith.
Progressive.	Lawrence C. Marfiser.	William H. Smith.
Precinct No. 3—Districts 56, 57, 58.		
Republican.	James H. Walton.	J. H. Moyers.
Democratic.	T. M. Rosas.	George Cook.
Progressive.	T. M. Rosas.	George Cook.
Precinct No. 4—Districts 83, 96.		
Republican.	David Reid.	C. H. Sutton.
Democratic.	David Reid.	John A. Spendlove.
Progressive.	Thomas P. Maher.	John A. Spendlove.
Precinct No. 5—Districts 79, 84, 85, 86, 91.		
Republican.	Alfred Anderson.	David B. Harmon.
Democratic.	N. P. Peterson.	Abram Todd.
Progressive.	N. P. Peterson.	Abraham Todd.

Political Party.	Justice of the Peace.	Constable.
Precinct No. 6—Districts 63, 65, 66, 78, 95.		
Republican.	Clifford I. Goff.	William Oborn.
Democratic.	Henry C. Mountcer.	Frank H. Barrett.
Progressive.	Henry C. Mountcer.	Frank H. Barrett.
Precinct No. 7—Districts 67, 88, 89, 90.		
Republican.	.....	William A. Rockstead.
Democratic.	H. J. Johnson.	B. C. Ward.
Progressive.	H. J. Johnson.	F. C. Ward.
Precinct No. 8—Districts 71, 72.		
Republican.	Orlando D. Ballard.	George H. Anderson.
Democratic.	Hyrum Brown.	John Smith.
Progressive.	.....	.....
Precinct No. 9—Districts 73, 74, 75, 76, 77.		
Republican.	Franklin E. Smith.	Roswell B. Gardner.
Democratic.	Samuel H. Berkstead.	George Stockings.
Progressive.	Samuel H. Berkstead.	George W. Stockings.
Precinct No. 10—Districts 80, 81, 82, 92, 98, 103.		
Republican.	E. E. Dudley.	W. G. Struthers.
Democratic.	Charles H. McGuire.	George E. Wilcox.
Progressive.	C. H. Nichols.	George E. Wilcox.
Precinct No. 11—Districts 69, 81, 93, 94, 95.		
Republican.	Charles Hoffman.	Richard McCloy.
Democratic.	Andrew A. Horn.	H. N. Olson.
Progressive.	A. A. Horn.	H. N. Olson.
Socialist.	J. Williams.	H. N. Olson.

STATE OF UTAH, }
County of Salt Lake. } ss.

I, L. P. Palmer, County Clerk of Salt Lake County, State of Utah, do hereby certify that the above contains a full, true and correct list of all candidates nominated for election at the General Election to be held in Salt Lake County, Utah, on Tuesday, the 3rd day of November, 1914, as shown by Certificates of Nomination on file in my office.

L. P. Palmer.
County Clerk

An advance list of nominations on the ballot in Salt Lake City, published in the *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, October 29, 1914. Note that the Democratic and Progressive Party slates of candidates were identical in Salt Lake County. Democratic and Progressive candidates appeared in non-adjacent columns because Republican officeholders instructed election officials not to count a ballot in which votes were cast in two different columns, even if it was the same person.

SEPARATION OF PROPHET AND STATE?

THE 1914 REELECTION OF SENATOR REED SMOOT

BY KENNETH L. CANNON II AND GEOFFREY E. CANNON

The election of 1914 was a watershed event in Utah, particularly in the United States Senate race. Republicans had controlled Utah's congressional delegation, the governor's seat, and both houses of the state legislature for years. Senator Reed Smoot had survived a harrowing challenge to retain his seat after a four-year investigation and had handily won a second term in 1909 shortly after the Senate voted to let him stay.[1] By 1914, however, cracks had begun to appear in this monolithic Republican control in Utah, and changes were in the offing. The United States had ratified the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1913, with Utah the only state voting affirmatively against it.[2] The amendment provided for the popular election of U.S. senators rather than by state legislatures, and 1914 was the first Senate election in Utah to which the amendment applied.[3] Although Utah was one of only two states in which the incumbent Republican president William Howard Taft received more votes than his two opponents in 1912, the combined votes for Democrat Woodrow Wilson and Progressive candidate Theodore Roosevelt substantially exceeded the number of votes cast for Taft.[4] Thus, Democrats and Progressives believed they might be able to unseat Senator Reed Smoot, particularly if they could find a way to work together.

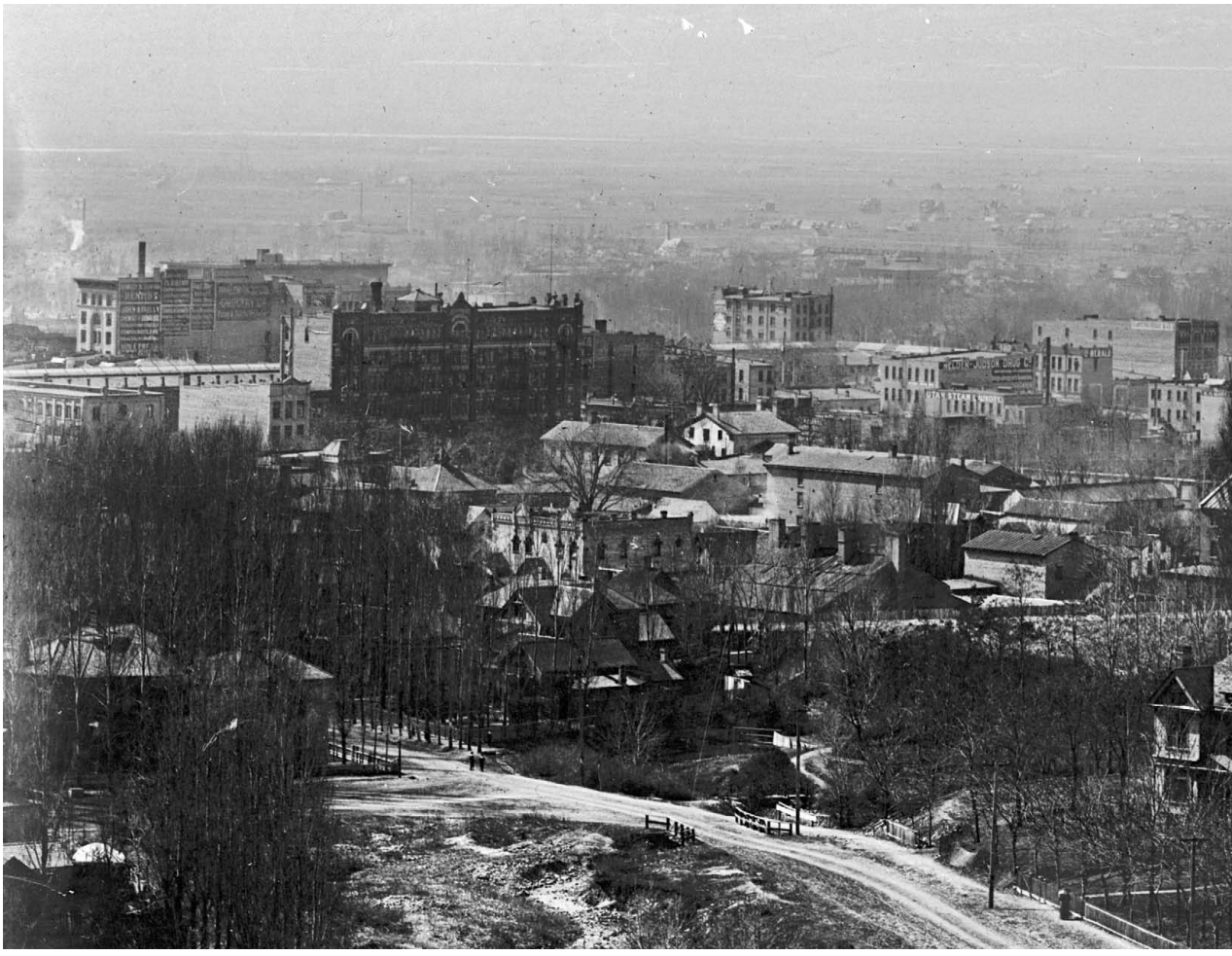
When Smoot ran for his third term in 1914, some members of his "Federal Bunch" political machine were at odds with each other, President Wilson was popular, and the GOP had lost many partisans to Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party. Democrats and Progressives believed that they could continue to chip away at Republican majorities in state offices as they had in 1912.[5] Smoot faced a popular election for the first time, and he had a formidable opponent in the Democrat-Progressive "fusion" candidate, James H. Moyle, a prominent Mormon lawyer, businessman, and longtime Democratic leader. Smoot's narrow victory over Moyle is one of the most intriguing campaign and election stories in Utah history.

Just before the election, the *Salt Lake Tribune* mused that Senator Smoot "entered the campaign with every condition adverse." Smoot was a

"standpat" Republican (that is, one who did not embrace most progressive reforms), and a majority of Utah's electorate had voted against the standpat incumbent president William Howard Taft in his reelection campaign in 1912. According to the *Tribune*, Smoot cared more about national issues such as tariffs and disputes with Mexico than about local issues. The *Tribune* further opined that "were Senator Smoot not an apostle of the dominant church of the state there could be little doubt of the result. And, even recognizing the tremendous advantage Mr. Smoot's church position gives him, it is difficult to imagine how he can carry Utah."[6]

Utah Progressives, most of whom had been Republicans before joining Theodore Roosevelt's bolt from the party, took an aggressive approach to the 1914 campaign. From the beginning, the Bull Moose Party's weekly newspaper in Utah, the *Progressive*, extolled the virtues of Roosevelt's party and criticized Smoot.[7] The paper also attacked traditional Republicans who had supported Roosevelt in 1912 but had returned to the Republican fold in 1914. One such Progressive who returned to the GOP that year was Ogden editor, publisher, politician, and powerbroker William "Bill" Glasmann. Progressives knew that Glasmann's move could hurt them in the coming election, and they openly attacked him and others in an attempt to undermine their potential influence.[8]

Democrats believed they had a good chance of electing one of their own, particularly if they could work effectively with Progressives. Enter James H. Moyle, a long-time mainstay of the party who had run in and lost close

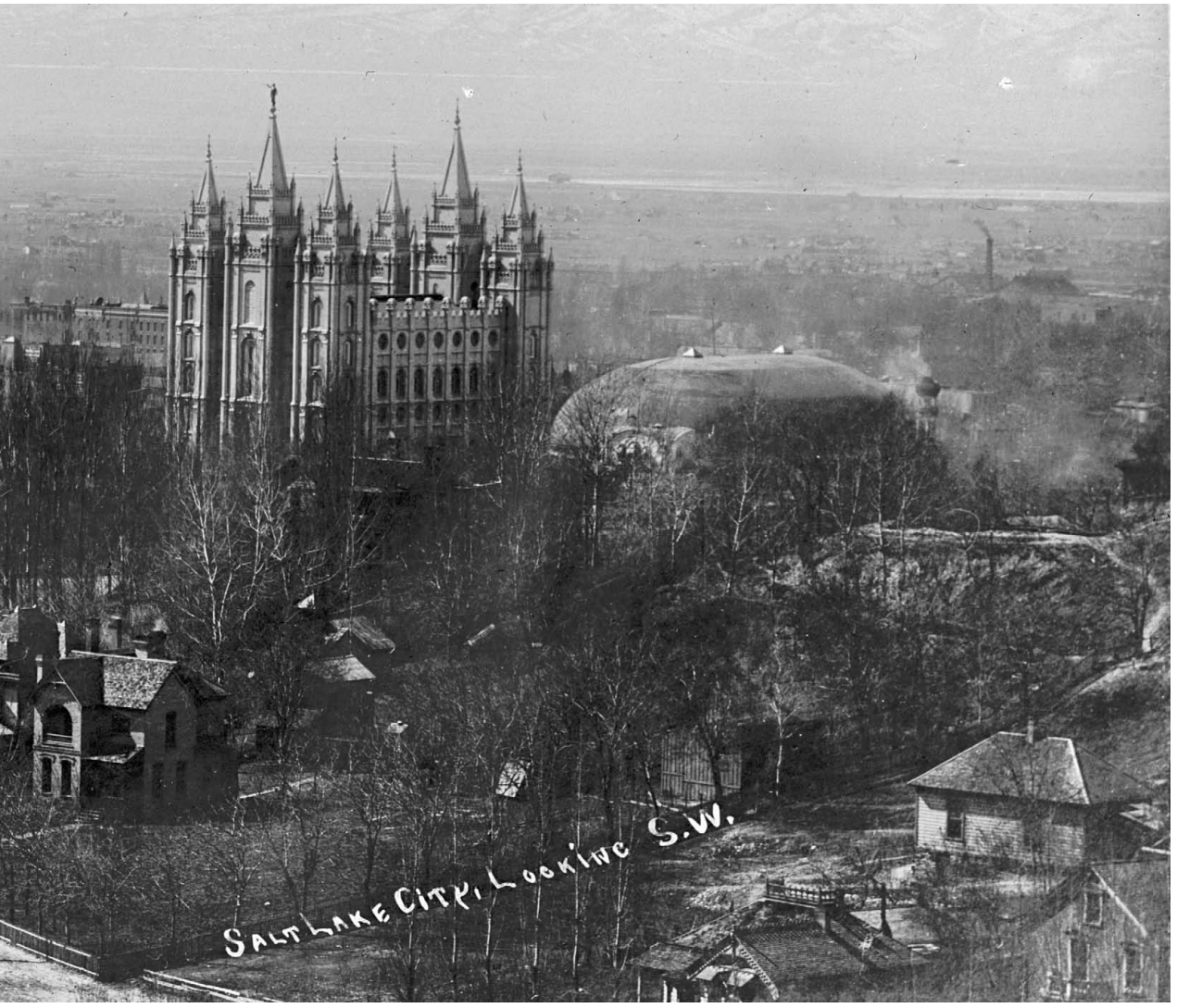


Salt Lake City, view looking southwest, December 1, 1914. The LDS church dominated the city skyline just as it loomed large in Utah politics; in that year's election church president Joseph F. Smith publically supported the Republican incumbent, a Mormon apostle, over his democratic challenger. *Utah State Historical Society, Shipler no. 14793.*

gubernatorial elections in 1900 and 1904. In March 1914, Moyle announced that he was willing to run against the incumbent Smoot. Other prominent Democrats—including former congressman and future senator William H. King, Jewish entrepreneur and future governor Simon Bamberger, and mining magnate and businessman Jesse Knight—believed that they had a better chance of being elected to major office in 1916 when Smoot would not be running and, thus, decided not to run against the incumbent senator. Importantly, Moyle was well-liked by Progressives and believed he could defeat Smoot. He had a well-earned reputation for integrity, political savvy, and support for government reforms.[9]

Progressives also understood that they would have to join forces with the Democrats to defeat the Republicans. They pled their case for reform focused on power for individuals and opposition to corporate power, but they realized that this was not going to be enough to displace Republican rule. It was thus fortunate for their cause that they also believed that Woodrow Wilson's reform agenda was not much different in substance from Theodore Roosevelt's. Although the *Progressive* steadfastly denied that the Bull Moose Party would fuse with the Democratic Party, it was generally assumed by most observers in Utah that they would indeed do so, a scenario that concerned Smoot.[10]

Support for fusion grew. In late March, the *Progressive* suggested that, "if the Democrats tender us their aid in accomplishing this great piece of work, why not accept it?"[11] By mid-May, the parties admitted that "it may be possible that



members of [both] parties, who subscribe to Progressive principles may be on that ticket."[12] At a Democratic banquet, soon-to-be federal judge Tillman D. Johnson, "in a particularly clever speech," broached the subject of fusion with Progressives to enthusiastic applause.[13] Some observers were cynical of the proposed alliance of the two parties, believing that Progressive leaders were "sacrificing their party's cause in order to gain office" by talking about fusion while "Democratic leaders who are dickering with the Progressives are attempting to unite both parties on the candidacy of James H. Moyle for the United States Senate."[14] National leaders of the Democratic Party blessed the combination of the two parties and promised support, particularly if Moyle ran as the Senate candidate for both parties.[15] National Progressive leaders were equally supportive of their local Utah candidates; Theodore Roosevelt reportedly supported an alliance with the Democrats if running on separate tickets "would divide the so-called progressive vote."[16]

The conventions of the Democratic and Progressive Parties were held in early June 1914. No one was surprised by the outcome. The two parties nominated the same candidates for U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives, and most other important offices.[17] Moyle was the Senate nominee, while Lewis Larson and James H. Mays, both Progressives, secured the House nominations.[18] Steadfastly though disingenuously insisting that the two parties "did not fuse," both Democrats and Progressives extolled the virtues of their joint candidates. According to the *Progressive,* "the men nominated by the parties are men of honesty, ability and intelligence. . . . They represent the highest type of Utah citizenship."[19]

The *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, the organ of Smoot's Federal Bunch political machine, tried to divide the newly fused parties by telling Progressives that the Democratic Party was doing all it could do to control the fusion ticket. The newspaper emphasized that the "auxiliary convention" of the Progressives had simply followed the Democratic lead and had "squelched" those in the party who supported the Progressive agenda.[20]

The Progressives and Democrats spent the summer criticizing the incumbent senator. For example, Progressives attacked "Smootism," which they asserted had "a great institution [as] its right hand; the whiskey interests [as] its left hand and great monopolies of the state [as] the legs on which it stands."[21] The references were to the power of the Mormon church, controversy over proposed prohibition, and large corporations, which the Progressives perceived as universally supporting Smoot. As a Democrat, Moyle took up the banner of the nomination by the Democratic and Progressive Parties, making most of the same arguments as the Progressives. He expressed his "ardent" support for women's suffrage and encouraged all women to support the reforms represented by the Democrats and Progressives.[22] Moyle stumped the state over the months leading up to the election, arguing that Smoot was out of touch with the people on a number of issues.[23]

Smoot's management of his reelection campaign in 1914 illustrates what a master campaigner and politician he could be. For example, the incumbent senator maintained close communications with Joseph F. Smith, who took steps to render critical, though private, campaign support for the senator. Although Smoot's Federal Bunch political machine was handicapped by internal disputes, it was still organized enough to ensure the votes of most Republicans. At the same time, he knew that one of the biggest challenges he faced was bringing Progressives back to the GOP. Smoot took numerous steps to accomplish this. During the summer, he convinced his close friend, Colonel C. E. "Ed" Loose, who had left the GOP for the Progressive Party in 1912, to serve as state Republican chairman. Additionally, he worked hard to appeal to Progressives, reaching out personally to many. Finally, at his suggestion, Smoot's supporters focused on how the senator had defended and furthered the interests of Utahns, regardless of their political or religious views, from a powerful perch in Washington, D.C.

There is no doubt that President Smith strongly supported Smoot and worked hard behind the scenes to ensure the latter's reelection. Shortly after learning of Moyle's intention to run as a Democrat for Smoot's seat, Smith arranged to have Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company's board vote to replace Moyle with Smith's son-in-law, John F. Bowman, as the company's

general counsel. Moyle was "flabbergasted" and outraged at what he saw as a politically motivated act. His termination as general counsel for the company, coupled with time he took off from his legal practice to campaign, hurt Moyle financially.[24]

Fully aware of Smith's support, Smoot worked hard to ensure that it continued.[25] In mid-March 1914, Smoot received a letter from the First Presidency of the church indicating "that they had been informed by a friendly and reliable source that the [United States] Government has one or more emissaries in Salt Lake City secretly prying into the financial affairs of the Church in the belief that the Church is liable under the Sherman anti-trust law."[26] To Smoot, the reason for this "democratic plot" was to "scare [Smith] and the general authorities of the Church, so that you will feel compelled to ask me to withdraw as a candidate for the Senate."[27] The First Presidency had what seems to have been a more plausible interpretation of the secret scrutiny the church was allegedly facing: "the charges of commercialism [against the church] being made from the lecture platform by Frank J. Cannon."[28]

Whether government officials in Salt Lake City were interested in damaging Smoot's reelection chances or in finding evidence of church involvement in trusts and monopolies, Smoot immediately took action. He met with U.S. Attorney General James McReynolds and asked him if the government was investigating potential anti-trust violations by the LDS church. While McReynolds assured the senator that no such inquiry was being undertaken, he nonetheless informed Smoot that a "delegation of very well meaning women and [Idaho senator] Fred T. Dubois" had alleged that the church was a "great trust and a violator of the Sherman Anti-Trust law." McReynolds did not believe that the allegations were credible, however. Smoot reported his conversation to Smith and added that he agreed with McReynolds—that individuals closer to home, including Dubois and Utah U.S. Attorney W. W. Ray, a "vicious anti-Mormon," were fomenting rumors about the federal investigation.[29]

Smith, an avid Republican, was outraged. He informed Smoot that he and his "associates" would not be "frightened . . . in to speechlessness and hideing [*sic*]" by charges "concocted" by "Bullmoosers and Democrats . . . It will take a great deal more than I have heard to produce the 'scare' on me which they desire. The fact is I have not been 'raised in the woods to be frightened with owls.'" Smith reassured Smoot that "I want you to know that I am with you and for you, that I believe in your integrity, and I have confidence in you, and I want you to keep your courage up and not allow it to fail you."[30] To Joseph F. Smith, Smoot was Utah's senator, the Mormon church's senator, and the prophet's senator, and he wanted to make sure that Smoot knew that. Smoot was ecstatic at President Smith's words.[31]

One issue on which Smith was of great help to Smoot was prohibition, which had been divisive for years. In 1914, it was becoming an increasingly important point of conflict for many Utahns, both Mormons and non-Mormons alike.[32] The incumbent senator believed that his opponents would try to make prohibition an important matter of contention, and thus jeopardize his reelection. As Smoot complained to Smith, the Democrats did not believe they could defeat him alone but "were going to combine with the Progressives if possible and their [combined] paramount issue in the campaign would be state wide prohibition." The senator did not disagree with the Democrats' view that prohibition was "the only issue . . . that could be presented to the people that would turn Utah from a Republican to a Democratic state."[33] Indeed, Smoot noted to his friend Ed Loose that "if we can only keep this prohibition question out of our politics, this year ther [*sic*] is no doubt of the result in my mind."[34]

While Smith was willing to avoid prohibition as a campaign issue if it would help Smoot's reelection, other church leaders and prominent members were less interested in letting things pass. Apostles Heber J. Grant, Francis M. Lyman, and John Henry Smith, First Presidency counselor Anthon H. Lund, prominent Salt Laker Nephi L. Morris, and others sometimes spoke out on prohibition and believed the issue should be considered by the electorate.[35] Mormons felt particularly uneasy on the matter, given the church's Word of Wisdom, which counseled them to avoid "strong drinks," and the emphasis that Joseph F. Smith placed on adherence to the Word of Wisdom after he

A profile view of Joseph F. Smith sporting a bowtie. Smith avoided support for prohibition, in part because by so doing would help reelect Reed Smoot to the Senate. *LDS Church History Library.*

became president of the church in 1901. Ironically, Smith's avoidance of the prohibition issue in 1914 appears to have been colored by political expediency.[36] The liquor trade in Utah was controlled by non-Mormons, and most of the opposition to prohibition came from them. The Progressives and Democrats both proposed having a statewide referendum to decide the issue. The Republicans carefully avoided the issue, taking no stand on it to attract the non-Mormon vote. Fred J. Kiesel, a wealthy and powerful Ogden grocer, entrepreneur, and politician, was reputed to be the leading wholesaler of liquor in Utah. In late February 1914, Kiesel had announced his switch from the Democratic Party to the GOP.[37] This brought an immediate and enthusiastic letter from Joseph F. Smith:

> as a natural born citizen of the United States, a pioneer of Utah and a life long Republican in sentiment and affiliation, as an associate with you in the Directorate of one of the great industries of Utah, the destruction of which is threatened by the policy of the party in power, and for several other reasons unnecessary to mention here, I congratulate you on the recent move you are reported to have taken, relative to your political views.[38]

Smith added a postscript, "please accept the foregoing from me, as a fellow-citizen, not as a churchman."[39] Smith's principal "other reason" for the letter was to let Kiesel know that the Mormon church would not openly support prohibition during the 1914 election. Just as Smith and Kiesel worked together to protect a "great industry of Utah" threatened by Democrats (clearly, the "sugar interests"), Smith was assuring Kiesel that he appreciated the latter's recent move to the Republican Party, which would permit them to work together to protect Smoot's Senate seat from Democrats.[40] Prohibition would indeed become an issue later in the campaign, but Smoot was satisfied that Smith supported his position and would take action as needed on the question.

Satisfied that Smith had full confidence in him and would make certain that church leaders would not speak publicly on the prohibition issue, the incumbent senator pursued other actions to ensure his reelection. In June and July 1914, as Republicans began preparing for their state convention, Smoot worked hard to convince his close friend and fellow Provo resident, Ed Loose, a non-Mormon industrialist who had bolted the GOP when Roosevelt formed the Progressive Party, to serve as state Republican chair. Loose had the additional strategic advantage of being against prohibition. Smoot believed that convincing Loose to return to the GOP fold and serve as party chair would encourage other Progressives to come back as well.[41] Smoot knew that Loose understood that returning prodigal sons would need to be welcomed, not punished. As Smoot wrote Loose, "[t]he one question about my re-election will be the number of Progressive votes that can be taken from the Republican Party."[42]

Loose was reluctant to take the position, though more from concern about offending the existing state chair, Henry Gardner, than from doubts of his ability to do the job. Smoot implored Loose that his acceptance of the chairmanship "will be the beginning of the amalgamation of the two factions of the Republican Party. You can do this better than any other man in the state."[43] Loose relented and was soon elected as the party chair.[44] Almost immediately, Reed Smoot instructed Charley Morris to tell Loose what Progressives he should approach to entice them back to the GOP.[45] Smoot also sought to keep Governor Spry happy by thanking him for convincing Loose to serve as state chairman.[46]

Chief among Progressives whom Smoot sought to convince was Bill Glasmann, the influential and fiery editor and publisher of the *Ogden Standard* who was a non-Mormon, sometime-operative for the national Republican Party, former mayor of Ogden, and former legislator. Glasmann was a devotee of Theodore Roosevelt and joined the Progressive Party in 1912 to support his presidential candidacy. Through his newspaper, he helped deliver a plurality vote for Roosevelt in Ogden and Weber County in the 1912 election, when Roosevelt came in third in most other parts of the state behind Taft and Wilson.[47] Smoot must have known that if he could prevail in Ogden and Weber County, where Progressives had outpolled Republicans and Democrats in 1912, he would have a much easier time being reelected. The senator believed that Bill Glasmann was the person who could deliver the vote there. Progressives

tried hard to keep Glasmann in their party because they knew he could potentially affect the election. Smoot's Federal Bunch ultimately succeeded in convincing Glasmann, who had publicly "announce[d] his return to the Republican Party for the purpose of aiding in the re-election of Senator Smoot whose 'progressive course' in the national senate he lauds."[48]

During this time, Progressives actively sought to keep reform-minded members of their party in the Bull Moose ranks. They did this, at least in part, by identifying and attacking Progressives who had returned to the GOP. Following Glasmann's switch, for example, the *Progressive* attacked him mercilessly for months. One of Glasmann's biggest detractors was Isaac Russell, a *New York Times* reporter originally from Utah who was a contributing editor to the *Progressive*.[49]

In fact, Glasmann's return to the GOP was a bit murkier than Republicans acknowledged or knew. Glasmann made clear that he had been offered the Progressive Party's nomination for Congress in 1914, but he did not believe he could win on that ticket. As his own *Ogden Standard* trumpeted, Glasmann was no Democrat and would not support fusion with Democrats.[50] Smoot wrote Charles Nibley that Glasmann had demanded "first seat on the mourner's bench" and "half of the fatted calf" in exchange for his agreement to rejoin the GOP. It appears that what Glasmann had demanded, and Smoot had agreed to, was that Glasmann would be the Republican candidate for Congress in Utah's First Congressional District in 1916, even though that would require the Federal Bunch to abandon seven-term incumbent Joseph Howell.[51] Consistent with the apparent compact Smoot had made with him, Glasmann had "sewed up" with Federal Bunch support the nomination to run as a Republican for Congress in the next election at the time of his sudden death of a heart attack in May 1916.[52]

Smoot also courted opposing partisans, regardless of their religious views.[53] His adherents sought to promote their candidate by portraying him as an honorable and great leader whose work in Washington was important to Utah. Former Smoot aide Charley Morris, at the request of and with substantial help from Senator Smoot and his staff, compiled a booklet entitled *Honorable Reed Smoot, His Record in the Senate*, which described in detail everything Smoot had done for Utah and extolled him as one of the statesmen "whose keenness, energy, and patriotism" place him among the best leaders of the country.[54]

Progressives who had once supported Smoot questioned what they viewed as the myth of Reed Smoot as a "Great Man," as represented by Morris' booklet. The *Progressive* noted that "We are told by some tongues that Smoot is a great man. We are fain to ask in what his greatness consists. . . . In Utah he has no greatness."[55] The newspaper acknowledged that he was a "better man than common opinion would make him," but he was merely "a person—an individual—an ordinary man."[56] They closely analyzed Smoot's record and found little support for the "Great Man" myth.[57]

With the stage set, Reed Smoot and James H. Moyle pursued the campaign in vastly different ways. Smoot remained in Washington going about his business as senator, receiving reports and pulling strings in Utah. Moyle barnstormed the state, rebuilding tattered local Democratic organizations in many cities and towns. His friends counseled him to run in 1916, when he would easily defeat his law school classmate, George Sutherland, Utah's other senator.[58] As noted earlier, his potential rivals for the Democratic nomination had decided to wait. Wealthy Democrats such as Alfred McCune, E. A. Wall, and William R. Wallace pledged support for Moyle in 1916 but opted not to fund his 1914 campaign.[59] Many prominent Democrats did not even campaign for Moyle that year. One exception was prominent businessman Simon Bamberger, who loaned Moyle his "auto and chauffeur" to tour the state and who accompanied the Democratic-Progressive Senate nominee on his barnstorming travels.[60]

By September, prohibition had become an increasingly important issue. Smoot noted in his diary that he saw "from home papers that [Heber J.] Grant and others are again agitating for state wide prohibition."[61] He and his lieutenants were concerned that Grant and others might address the issue in October general conference. Milton R. Merrill, Smoot's biographer, believed that "about three good sermons on prohibition at conference would have deprived the country of Smoot's political services for the

Governor Spry, the man in the center holding his hat, among dignitaries at the ground breaking of the new Utah State Capitol, 1910. Spry was a member of Smoot's Federal Bunch and campaigned for Smoot in his reelection bid. *Utah State Historical Society, Shipler no. 104.*

succeeding two decades."[62] On September 25, 1914, Smoot was told by his aide Julian Thomas "to make no statement on the liquor question until I heard from him." Ed Loose, *Salt Lake Herald-Republican* general manager Ed Callister, and governor William Spry sent Smoot a telegram imploring him to come home at once to stop activities by prominent Mormons to push prohibition. Smoot wired Callister "to see Nibley and wire me again."[63] Soon, Smoot's friend, LDS presiding bishop Charles W. Nibley, informed the senator that he, George Sutherland, and "Ed," had "conferred" in the last days of September 1914 with President Smith "on prohibition matters that some of our folks are unwisely pressing at this time."[64] The president decreed that there would be no conference addresses on the subject.[65] Charley Morris quickly wired Smoot that the matter was resolved.[66] As Morris noted to Smoot in a letter the same day, "the prohibition matter has been adjusted. I do not expect we will have more serious trouble with that. It threatened however, to be so serious that our success was anything but sure."[67] He wrote again the next day, reassuring the senator that "every day now lessens our trouble on the prohibition issue. The people who were most deeply interested have been made to see and understand their error." Nevertheless, Morris hoped that Smith would prevent Heber J. Grant, "the leader and chief agitator of the whole business," from speaking further on prohibition.[68]

Joseph F. Smith may have agreed to "adjust the prohibition matter" among church authorities, but Moyle seized on the question in hopes of convincing those in favor of prohibition to vote for him. Controversies over prohibition had dogged Smoot for years.[69] In January 1909, Charles Nibley, the apostle Hyrum M. Smith, and Salt Lake Stake president Nephi L. Morris had sent a telegram to Utah's Washington delegation, which included Smoot, indicating that almost all Utahns, the church, and women voters wanted prohibition, and that Republican officeholders were "the principal obstacles in the way of prohibition."[70] When the telegram

became public during the 1910 political campaign, Nibley, Smith, and Morris all told reporters that they understood a response had been prepared by someone in the delegation, but none of *them* had received it. Newspapers reported that Smoot, the dominant member of the Utah Congressional delegation, *had* sent a response to the telegram, but to Joseph F. Smith, not those who had sent the telegram. Smoot had asked Smith to use his influence to dissuade church leaders from agitating for prohibition.[71] Smoot had also ensured that "a letter was prepared and signed by President Smith, . . . and this letter was given into the hands of the federal bunch, . . . to be shown privately to obstreperous members of the legislature." The Federal Bunch members who received copies of the private letter were carefully instructed not to "let it pass out of their hands."[72]

As state Democratic chairman in 1910, Moyle made the most of the "Nibley-Smith-Morris telegram" by offering a $500 reward to anyone who would provide him with a copy of Smoot's response to the telegram and an additional $500 reward to anyone who would provide a copy of Smith's letter to be used by Smoot's Federal Bunch in persuading state legislators not to support prohibition.[73] Now, in September 1914, Moyle reminded voters of the old telegram and Smoot's persuading Smith to quietly lobby against prohibition in an attempt to goad Smoot into responding.[74] Moyle may not have *known* that Smith had ordered Grant not to "agitate" for prohibition, but he likely sensed the continuing support of the church president for Smoot on this issue.

While Smoot, Nibley, and others strongly encouraged Smith to keep church leaders quiet on prohibition, neither wanted Smith to publicly support Smoot's reelection or oppose statewide prohibition for fear that many people would find inappropriate such open political involvement by the church president.[75] Smoot "fully agreed" with this determination and noted, "I shall write a letter to President Smith today and among other things will ask him to be sure to sign no paper whatever that will have any bearing upon my re-election."[76] Smoot shrewdly realized that Smith's overt foray into the campaign would have played directly into Moyle's narrative that Smith had earlier meddled in the prohibition issue to support Republican candidates.

Following Smith's injunction against mentioning the issue, no general authority of the church addressed the issue of prohibition of alcohol or liquor at the faith's general conference in early October 1914. In fact, the words "prohibition," "alcohol," and "liquor" were not spoken. George F. Richards quoted Peter referring to patience, temperance, and godliness. David O. McKay made a generic reference to members "abstaining from the use of tobacco, intoxicants, and stimulating beverages" as provided in the "word of wisdom." Heber J. Grant and Joseph F. Smith briefly mentioned the health guidelines outlined in the Word of Wisdom, but only to encourage members to follow the tenet generally.[77]

Smoot finally returned to Utah on October 20 and was met by senior church leaders at the train station. Upon arriving in Utah, Smoot spent much of his time attending gala celebrations and being seen with prominent Utah political, business, and Church leaders.[78] Though local pundits generally believed that Moyle would win, Smoot was confident that the steps he had taken would lead to his reelection.[79]

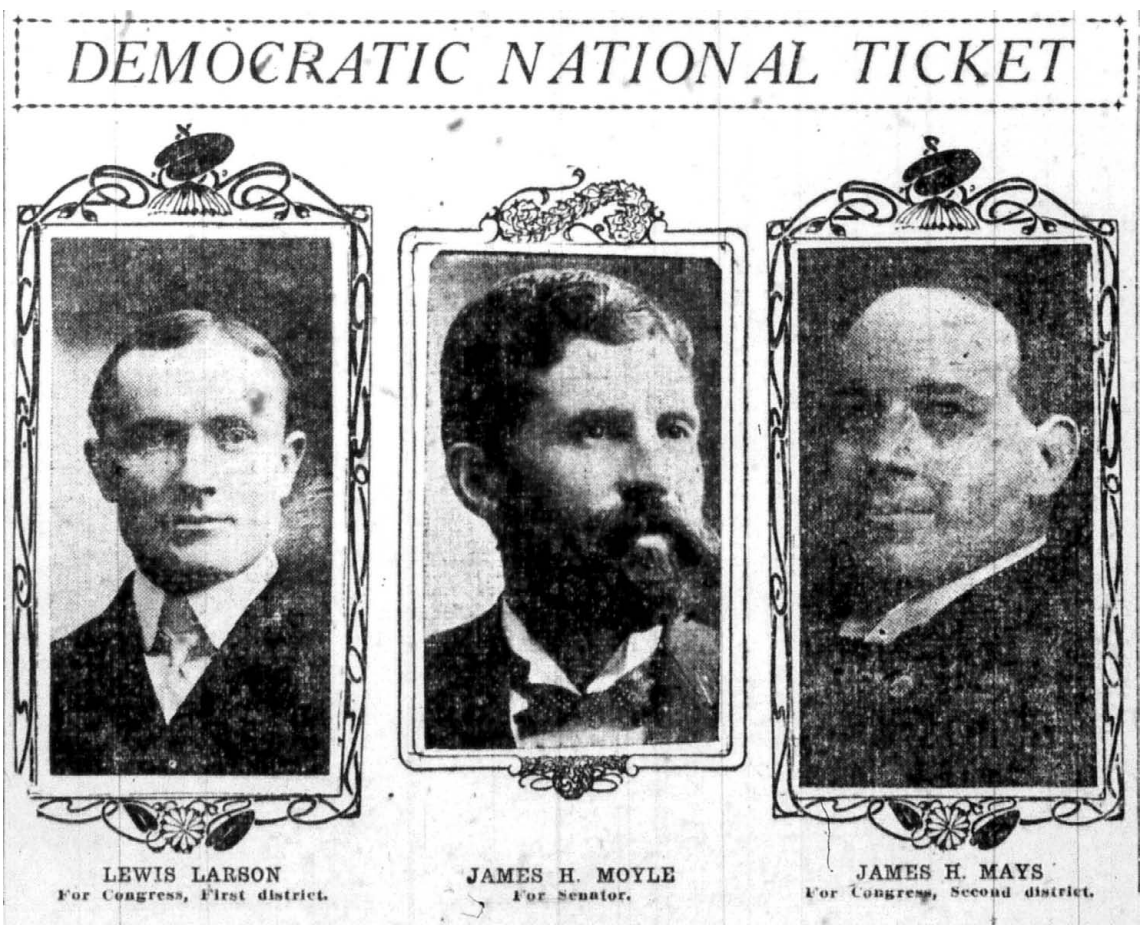
Campaign rhetoric ramped up in October. Both candidates spoke at large rallies, sometimes in the same city on the same day.[80] Newspapers took sides, with the *Ogden Standard* and *Salt Lake Herald-Republican* endorsing Smoot and the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Salt Lake Telegram* preferring Moyle.[81] The *Deseret News* did not seem to lean to one or the other.

In our view, the *Herald-Republican* quietly tried to reassure readers that Smith supported Smoot on November 1, 1914, just two days before the election. The paper had published photos of prominent Utahns, often Progressives and Democrats, on the front page of its Sunday edition for weeks and described how these men were supporting Smoot. That day, the *Herald-Republican* published the first public image of a new portrait of President Smith on the front page of the local (second) section in precisely the same position where the photos of Smoot supporters had been published in the first section.[82] The front pages of the first

and second sections had a similar masthead. It is surprising that the church's own daily, the *Deseret News*, was not chosen to showcase the new official portrait of Smith, painted by German artist Albert Salzbrenner.[83] Rather, it was published in the hyper-partisan Republican newspaper just two days before the election, almost certainly with Smith's approval.

On his side, Moyle sought help from the national Democratic Party. Though local observers generally believed that it was his election to lose, Moyle later complained that the national party assumed that he had no chance of defeating the incumbent senator and, like most of the other local Democrats, provided no help until just before the election. At that point, realizing that Moyle could win, national party leaders provided belated support, including a telegram from President Woodrow Wilson encouraging Utah voters to turn out to vote for Moyle.[84] To the extent they could have helped, the national party's actions in support of Moyle came much too late.

Finally, Election Day, November 3, arrived. While most of the news in the local papers was about the Great War raging in Europe, Utahns were just as interested in election results. The *Salt Lake Tribune* projected returns received by telegram on a large screen across from its offices on Main Street. The next morning, the election results were anything but clear. The *Tribune* and *Salt Lake Telegram* reported how close the Senate election had been but opined that Moyle would win in the closest race in state history.[85] The *Deseret News* noted the result was "very much in doubt."[86] By the following day, however, it was clear that Smoot had been reelected by a small plurality of about 3,000 votes. It did



The three men on the Democratic ticket also enjoyed support of the Progressive Party. Of the three, only James H. Mays won his bid, securing election over incumbent Republican E. O. Leatherwood.

not turn out to be the closest race in history, largely because of an unexpected (to all but Smoot and some of his supporters) substantial victory for Smoot in Weber County, where he received more than 50 percent of the vote.[87]

The election had other surprises as well. Smoot lost Provo, his home town, by almost 200 votes (of a total of 3,109) and prevailed in Utah County by a margin of only 67 votes (out of 12,366).[88] Smoot attributed this to the "nasty, dirty fight made against me by the Democrats, betterment league, Jesse Knight and his henchmen."[89]

Most counties had separate columns for Progressive and Democratic candidates. There were allegations in Utah and Weber Counties that election judges had disqualified ballots that had marked fusion candidates in both the Democratic and Progressive columns, even though they were the same people. Ray Van Cott, the Salt Lake County Democratic chair and Moyle's law partner, believed that this would have swung the result.[90] While Moyle prevailed in Salt Lake County, it was only by about 1,100 votes, which was not enough to make up for losses in other counties.[91]

Though Smoot and Nibley had cannily made sure that Smith did not make public statements in support of Smoot, they and their allies also made sure that anyone watching closely would recognize the church president's support. Smith met Smoot at the train depot when he returned to Utah, he appeared at important gatherings for Smoot, and he consented to have his new portrait debuted in the *Herald-Republican* two days before the election. At the same time, Smith undermined Moyle by instructing Con Wagon's board to replace the latter as the company's counsel with Smith's son-in-law after Moyle announced his candidacy. This reduced Moyle's income at the same time he had to spend time campaigning. Smith never attended a Moyle speech or rally nor did he appear with him. Just as Moyle later stated, Smith communicated to people privately by word and action his support for Smoot and through the lively channels of Mormon communication this message was spread widely. Despite Smith's actions, Moyle came close to winning.

In the end, Smoot was reelected. And Joseph F. Smith's support almost certainly played an important role in the outcome. His private edict against senior church leaders discussing prohibition was especially important. His appearances with the incumbent senator and support behind the scenes were also helpful. That being said, many Utahns did not know about Smith's support for Smoot. Interestingly, Milton Merrill believed that Moyle received more votes from Mormons than Smoot did.[92] While this claim is difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate, the sentiment does suggest that other factors were important in Smoot's reelection.

As noted earlier, more than 50 percent of Weber County votes were for Smoot, making it the only large county that the incumbent senator carried easily.[93] This unforeseen result facilitated Smoot's statewide plurality victory. Smoot received 52 percent of the vote there while Moyle received less than 40 percent.[94] As the *Salt Lake Tribune* recognized, Bill Glasmann, a relentless and adroit campaigner, played a significant role in this outcome, just as he had for Roosevelt's success in the county in 1912. If Moyle had received more than 50 percent of the Weber County vote, as Democrats and Progressives (and most pundits) predicted, and Smoot had received about 40 percent of that vote, as predicted, the candidates would have finished within a few hundred votes of each other statewide with a 0.2 percent difference, though Smoot would still have won.[95]

A final reason for Smoot's reelection was the personality and political acumen of the senator himself. He worked hard at rapprochement with Progressives, openly wooed ostensible foes, and masterminded the brilliant actions he and his supporters took in the campaign. After the election, Smoot recorded in his diary that "it was a wonderful victory against the combined forces of the Democrats, Bull Moose Whiskey people, Anti-Mormons of the Tribune stripe. The Non-Mormons supported me splendidly outside the Tribune crowd. The laboring men were against me. Thousands of Democrats voted for me."[96] Ultimately, Isaac Russell noted that "Moyle had not the gift for being popular that Smoot had."[97]

Bolstering the conclusion that Smoot was a particularly shrewd political operator is the fact that "down ticket" Republicans suffered losses from surging Democrats and Progressives.

Fusion Democratic-Progressive candidates took one U.S. House seat, won more of the open state senate seats than Republicans, and almost took control of the state house. After the election, the state house numbered thirteen Democrats, nine Progressives, and one Socialist to twenty-three Republicans, constituting a potential deadlock given that Democrats, Progressives, and the one Socialist generally "caucused" together.[98]

For his part, the confident Moyle was perplexed by his loss.[99] He believed that he was a better Latter-day Saint than Smoot.[100] In light of this, it was particularly painful that Moyle also believed that, but for the support of LDS church president Joseph F. Smith, he would have defeated the incumbent Smoot. In 1945, looking back over an illustrious career, Moyle summed up his view of the 1914 Senate election:

> I say without hesitance or reservation of any kind that I would have defeated Senator Smoot in his bid for reelection to the Senate in 1914 but for the support Joseph F. Smith gave him. That support, of course, was not open, but through the *Deseret News* and other agencies at his command. President Smith let it be known that he believed there was a divine purpose in keeping the Apostle in the Senate. . . . The President [would tell] . . . the faithful *in private* what he thought and hoped would be done, but he was guarded in his public utterances.[101]

Two footnotes to the Senate election of 1914 are important. Not long after his defeat in the 1914 election, Moyle was appointed to high office in the federal government by Woodrow Wilson, eventually rising to serve as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Secretary William G. McAdoo. He and William H. King, also a practicing Mormon who became Utah's "other" senator by defeating incumbent George Sutherland in 1916, were accused of trying to undermine Smoot's 1920 reelection campaign by instigating a federal investigation of Utah-Idaho Sugar, of which Charles W. Nibley was senior manager and whose interests Smoot protected in Washington.[102] In 1929 Moyle was called as LDS mission president for the Eastern States mission, living in New York City for almost four years. In 1933, he was appointed at the age of seventy-five by Franklin D. Roosevelt to serve as U.S. Commissioner of Customs. Finally, in 1938 Moyle was again appointed as Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, this time under Henry Morgenthau.[103]

The other interesting footnote to the 1914 election is that the 1916 state elections were the most lopsided in Utah history, with Progressives and Democrats again running together. Democrat William H. King beat the incumbent Republican senator (and future U.S. Supreme Court Justice) George Sutherland by more than 17,000 votes, Democrat Simon Bamberger was elected as Utah's first non-Mormon and only Jewish governor over Nephi Morris, running as a Republican, and the Democrats and Progressives won every open statewide office. In the legislature, they took control of the state senate and dominated the state house, with a staggering majority of 44-1, with the forty-sixth seat held by the same Socialist from Tooele who was elected in 1914.[104] After the 1916 election, the only Republican who held statewide office was Reed Smoot, who did not run that year because he had four years left on his Senate term.

Notes

1 Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of Religious Identity: The Seating of Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); "Stampede from Smoot's Corral Nipped in Time," *Salt Lake Herald*, January 19, 1909, 1.

2 Nicholas Bradford, "Unrequited Law: Utah's Century with the Seventeenth Amendment, 1913–2013," *Hinckley Journal of Politics* (2014): 5–7.

3 United States Constitution, 17th Amendment, (ratified 1913). Smoot opposed ratification of the Amendment, which is likely one of the reasons the state voted against it. In the 1914 campaign, James H. Moyle, who ran against Smoot in 1914, used Smoot's opposition to the proposed Amendment to illustrate that Smoot was the "representative of great wealth," not of the common man. "Moyle's Campaign Is Ended with Rally in Salt Lake Theatre," *Salt Lake Telegram*, November 3, 1914, 5.

4 Taft received 42,013 votes in Utah, to 36,576 for Wilson, and 24,174 for Roosevelt, thus receiving 18,737 fewer votes than the combined total of his opponents. "The American Presidency Project," accessed August 2015, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1912.

5 Two important members of the Federal Bunch, Ed Callister and William Spry, had serious disputes with each other. Smoot convinced them "to let their past differences be forgotten and work together" to ensure his reelection. Reed Smoot, diary, October 9, 1913, Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

(hereafter "Smoot Papers"). An accessible edition of the Smoot diaries is Harvard S. Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 195.

6 Tuesday's Election," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 1, 1914, 6.

7 Though "Bull Moose Party" was not an official name for the party, it was widely used as a nickname for the Progressive Party and we use the two terms interchangeably.

8 For a fascinating glimpse into the career and life of Bill Glasmann, see Michael S. Eldredge, "William Glasmann: Ogden's Progressive Newspaperman and Politician," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 81 (Fall 2013): 304–24.

9 "Political Events," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 12; Gene A. Sessions, ed., *Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 178-79; Gordon B. Hinckley, *James Henry Moyle: The Story of a Distinguished American and an Honored Churchman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), 104-22, 310-329; James H. Moyle to John J. Raskob, July 16, 1928, in Gene A. Sessions, ed., *A View of James Henry Moyle: His Diaries and Letters* (Salt Lake City: Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974), 57–60; "The Demmies," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 5. Moyle received his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1885, becoming one of the first native Utahns to graduate from a prominent law school.

10 "A Statement," *Progressive*, April 4, 1914, 6; "Democracy Ready to Sacrifice Anything to Get a Senator," *Ogden Standard*, March 17, 1914, 5; "Democrats and 'Bull Moosers' Enter Combine, Suggestion that Dominant Party and Progressives Fuse, Made in Veiled Language, Applauded," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1914, 1, 4. For Smoot's concern about a joint Democrat-Progressive candidate, see Smoot to Charles M. Morris, April 4, 1914, Smoot Papers.

11 "That Agreement," *Progressive*, March 28, 1914, 2.

12 "Fusion," *Progressive*, May 16, 1914, 2.

13 "Democrats and 'Bull Moosers,'" *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1914, 1, 4.

14 "Democracy Ready to Sacrifice Everything to Get a Senator," *Ogden Standard*, March 17, 1914, 5.

15 "Political Combine in Utah Approved, Eastern Leaders of Democratic Party Will Aid Local Men to Win Fight," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 11, 1914, 12.

16 "Big Men of East in Favor of Fusion," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 2, 1914, 16.

17 For example, the entire Democratic and Progressive Party slates of candidates were identical in Salt Lake County. "List of Nominations" (which was an advance copy of the official ballot), *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, October 29, 1914, 14; October 30, 1914, 9.

18 "James H. Moyle Named; Fusion Plan Is Indorsed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 12, 1914, 1; "Result of Progressive and Democratic State Conventions," *Progressive*, June 13, 1914, 15. Mays was ultimately elected over incumbent Republican E. O. Leatherwood. Mays then identified himself as a Democrat during his three-term service in Congress, apparently abandoning his Progressive beginnings. "James Henry Mays, (1868–1926)," accessed August 2015, http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000290.

19 "The Ticket," *Progressive*, June 20, 1914, 2. There is a surprising amount of misinformation about the 1914 and 1916 fusion of the Democrats and Progressives, with Democrats described as "overwhelmingly successful." In fact, it was the fused tickets of the two parties that were successful in these years, with many Progressives being elected as well as Democrats.

20 The headlines exhibited the paper's agenda: "Machine Overcomes Opposition to Fusion; Slate Remains Intact, Democrats Get Candidates to Their Liking, Slate Manipulated by Bourbons and Bull Moose Told Whom They Shall Choose," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 12, 1914, 1, 2; "Moosers Follow Democratic Lead; Nominate Moyle, Machine Works Smoothly in Auxiliary Convention – Fusion Opponents Squelched; Slate Forced Through," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, June 12, 1914, 1, 3.

21 "Utah Politics," *Progressive*, May 2, 1914, 2.

22 "Moyle is Ardently for Woman's Vote," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 16, 1914, 16. As the campaign went on, Democratic and Progressive women, including Moyle's wife, Alice Dinwoodey Moyle, participated actively in the campaign. "Democratic Women to Hold Party at Hotel Utah," *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 10, 1914, 1; "Women Complete Reception Plans, Democratic-Progressive Club Plans Elaborate Entertainment for Today," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 21, 1914, 9; "Women's Clubs," *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 26, 1914, 6.

23 Sessions, *Mormon Democrat*, 178–79.

24 Ibid., 188–90. Consolidated Wagon was a substantial company largely owned by the LDS Church. Joseph F. Smith served as its president from 1901 to 1918. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 346–47; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy, Wealth and Corporate* Power (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2017), 224. Moyle had also been a director of the company and part of his surprise was that the directors of the company were good friends of his. He noted with some satisfaction that the company re-engaged him as its counsel within a year because Bowman had not performed satisfactorily. Moyle also recalled that the action had "caused [Smith] real grief" and it seemed to Moyle that Smith went out of his way to be "very nice" to him after the election. Sessions, *Mormon Democrat*, 190.

25 See E. H. Callister to Smoot, January 15, l909; C. M. Morris to Smoot, March 5, 1914; both in Smoot Papers. Smoot sometimes referred in his diary and in correspondence to letters he had received from President Smith, but only one or two from 1914 appear to be currently available.

26 As related in Smoot to Smith, March 20, 1914, Joseph F. Smith Santa Monica correspondence, Joseph F. Smith Papers, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Smoot was restating what he had read in the letter from the First Presidency, which does not appear to be available.

27 Ibid. This was the response to the First Presidency's inquiry, which Smoot had restated in his letter to Joseph F. Smith. Smoot expressed the same sentiment in his diary. Smoot, diary, March 19, 20, 1914; Heath, *In the World,* 215–16.

28 As referred to in Smoot to Smith, March 20, 1914, Smith Papers. Frank J. Cannon, who despised Smoot, had recently made allegations in magazine articles, a popular book, and nation-wide lectures of supposed financial improprieties by the LDS church. Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (Boston: C.M. Clark, 1911), 360–77; Kenneth L. Cannon II, "'The Modern Mormon Kingdom': Frank J. Cannon's National

Campaign Against Mormonism, 1911–1918," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Fall 2011): 60-114.

29 Smoot to Smith, March 20, 1914, Smith Papers.

30 Joseph F. Smith to Smoot, March 25, 1914, Joseph F. Smith Letterpress Copybooks, in Richard E. Turley, ed., *Selected Collections of the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 2 vols., DVD (Provo, UT: BYU Press, 2002), 1:30 (hereafter Selected Collections), emphasis in original.

31 Smoot, diary, March 28, 1914; Heath, *In the World*, 216.

32 For example, a leading voice in favor of prohibition was the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which was also solidly against certain historical Mormon practices, chief among them polygamy.

33 Smoot to Smith, March 20, 1912, Smoot Papers. He continued to worry about the prospect of prohibition becoming a major issue throughout the campaign. Smoot Diary, March 12, 1914, April 19, 1914, September 25, 26, 1914; Heath, *In the World*, 214, 220, 237, 238; C. M. Morris to Smoot, September 21, 1914; C. M. Morris to Smoot, October 3, 1914; Smoot to Loose, April 18, 1913; Loose to Smoot, May 9, 1913; Smoot to Loose, June 2, 1913; Smoot to Loose, August 7, 1914; Smoot to Loose, August 14, 1914; all in Smoot Papers.

34 Smoot to Loose, September 28, 1914, Smoot Papers.

35 E. H. Callister to Smoot, January 15, 1909; William Spry to Smoot, March 23, 1914; Smoot to Spry, April 4, 1914; Smoot Diary, September 25, 26, 1914; Heath, *In the World*, 237, 238. Nephi Morris was president of the LDS church's Salt Lake stake and ran for (and lost) two gubernatorial elections, as a Progressive in 1912 and as a Republican in 1916.

36 *Doctrine & Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Containing the Revelations Given to Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), 89:7, 321–23; Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 78–82. Alexander notes that by 1905, Smith and other senior leaders were actively promoting strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom, though it would take a number of years before this became the norm. This was at least partly due to concerns about the prohibition movement, which became increasingly popular, and the possibility of loss of political alliances with powerful Gentiles in the state, such as George Kiesel.

37 *Goodwin's Weekly*, March 7, 1914, 3. Kiesel had served as Ogden's first non-Mormon mayor in 1890 and understood Utah's political landscape very well. *Portrait, Genealogical and Biographical Record of the State of Utah* (Chicago, IL: National Historical Record Co., 1902), 80–81.

38 Joseph F. Smith to Fred J. Kiesel, March 4, 1914, in Joseph F. Smith Letterpress Copybooks, *Selected Collections*, 1:30.

39 Ibid. Presiding bishop Charles Nibley sent Kiesel a letter the same day that Smith had, welcoming the businessman into the Republican fold and stating that "Republican Protective Policy" was best for the country. Charles W. Nibley to Fred J. Keisel [*sic*], March 4, 1914, copy in Smoot Papers.

40 On the "sugar interests," see Matthew C. Godfrey, *Religion, Politics, and Sugar: The Mormon Church, the Federal Government, and the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1907–1921* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2007), especially 51–126.

41 Smoot's former secretary Charles M. "Charley" Morris informed Smoot that "Ed. Loose MUST be made State Chairman. We have to make it easy for a lot of Progressives to get back in the Party . . . Another thing is that with Ed. Loose as the chairman, we will capture bodily the Progressive outfit." Smoot agreed. C. M. Morris to Reed Smoot, telegram, July 9, 1914; C. M. Morris to Smoot, July 11, 1914; Smoot to C. M. Morris, July 14, 1914, all in Smoot Papers.

42 Smoot to Loose, March 7, 1914, Smoot Papers; Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press), 209, 235.

43 Loose to Smoot, April 10, 1914, as quoted in Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 208–9, 235; Smoot to Loose, June 29, 1914, Smoot Papers; Reed Smoot to C. E. Loose, telegram, July 16, 1914, Smoot Papers. Morris had told Smoot that Loose would "take the chairmanship if you insist on it." C. M. Morris to Smoot, July 11, 1914, Smoot Papers. Loose had written Smoot earlier in the year that he believed the long-term success of the GOP required the "two parties [Republican and Progressive] together, for there is nothing but defeat for the party if this cannot be done." Loose to Smoot, January 24, 1914, Smoot Papers.

44 Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 208; "Loose Is Landed by Federal Bunch. Authoritatively Stated that Colonel Has Agreed to Become Chairman," *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 17, 1914, 14. Loose brought another advantage to the mix. Federal Bunch insiders Ed Callister, who ran the *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, and Governor Spry continued to feud with each other. The affable Loose maintained good relations with both men and their adherents. Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 208. According to the *Salt Lake Telegram*, the election of Ed Loose at the state Republican convention "was made in obedience to a direct request by Senator Smoot." "New State G.O.P. Committee Picks Colonel Loose," *Salt Lake Telegram*, September 2, 1914, 2.

45 Smoot to C. M. Morris, July 21, 1914, Smoot Papers.

46 Smoot to Spry, July 25, 1914, Smoot Papers. Smoot knew full well that he had personally convinced Ed Loose to serve, but he wanted to mend fences between bickering Federal Bunch members and even told Spry that Ed Callister, who did not like Spry, had informed him how helpful Spry had been in getting Loose to serve.

47 In Weber County in 1912, Roosevelt received 36 percent of the vote, Taft 30 percent, and Wilson 29 percent. "Total Vote in City and County" and "Election Returns of Ogden City," *Ogden Standard*, November 6, 1912, 9. Glasmann arrogantly but quite possibly correctly claimed that "it was my paper and my personal influence that carried this county for Theodore Roosevelt . . . nowhere else in Utah did Roosevelt receive such a vote." Glassman [*sic*] to Russell, *Progressive*, March 28, 1914, 6.

48 "Utah Man Finds Proper Place," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 2–3. Few perceived Smoot as a "progressive."

49 The *Progressive*'s regular attacks on Glasmann included a reference to him as "Baldpate Bill" or the "Bald-Headed Buzzard" and the allegation that he was so difficult that even Republicans hoped Glasmann would make his move back to the GOP quietly. "Utah Man Finds Proper Place," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 2–3; "The Honorable -?- Bill," *Progressive*, February 28, 1914, 14; "A Ten Strike," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 5; William Glassman [*sic*] to Isaac Russell, published in "Editor William Glassman's [*sic*] Activities, . . . Even Include the Lugging Around of the Ogden Voters in His Ample Pocket," *Progressive*, March 28, 1914, 6; Isaac Russell, "Seven Keys to Baldpate and One to Senator Smoot," *Progressive*, April 11, 1914, 4–5.

50 "William Glasmann Not a Democrat," *Ogden Standard*, February 27, 1914, 4

51 Smoot to Nibley, June 23, 1914, as quoted in Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 208–9, 235; "Why Wonder," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 6; "Utah Man Finds Proper Place," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 2–3; Eldredge, "William Glasmann," 323.

52 "State Political Circles in Hodge-Podge of Doubt," *Salt Lake Telegram*, March 30, 1916, 12; "Glasmann's Death Changes Situation . . . Ogden Editor Said to Have Had Nomination About 'Sewed-Up,'" *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 16, 1916, 32.

53 In late October, in the midst of the final stages of the campaign, Smoot noted in his diary that "I have received many words of encouragement from many democrats." Smoot Diary, October 21, 1914; Heath, *In the World*, 240.

54 Charles M. Morris, comp., *Honorable Reed Smoot: His Record in the Senate* (Salt Lake City: Charles M. Morris, 1914). As Smoot had informed Spry in April 1914, the senator had requested "Charley Morris to get out a complete statement" of all the grand things Smoot had done. Smoot to Spry, April 4, 1914, Smoot Papers. Smoot continued to push Morris to complete the booklet, and, when the manuscript was ready, Smoot paid for the publication.

55 "A Great Man," *Progressive*, February 28, 1914, 2.

56 "Smootism," *Progressive*, March 7, 1914, 3; "Smootism," *Progressive*, July 4, 1914, 2.

57 "The Hon. Reed Smoot, His Record in the U.S. Senate Analyzed," *Progressive*, August 22, 1914, 8; "Standpatism of Hon. Reed Smoot, His Career in the U.S. Senate Analyzed," *Progressive*, October 3, 1914, 11; "The Book of Smoot," *Progressive*, October 10, 1914, 7; "Senator Smoot's Record," *Progressive*, October 31, 1914, 5; N. V. Jones, *Correspondence between Senator Reed Smoot and N. V. Jones, Including a Discussion of the Senator's Record in the United States Senate* (Salt Lake City, Utah,: n.p., 1914).

58 Richard D. Poll, *Working the Divine Miracle: The Life of Apostle Henry D. Moyle*, ed. Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 64, provides the additional detail that Moyle and Sutherland were roommates at the University of Michigan Law School.

59 Sessions, *Mormon Democrat*, 178–79.

60 Ibid., 179.

61 Smoot Diary, September 25, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 237.

62 Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press), 128.

63 Smoot Diary, September 26, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 238. Copies of the telegrams do not appear to be extant, but Smoot described them in his diary.

64 Nibley to Smoot, September 30, 1914, Smoot Papers. The "Ed" could have been either Ed Loose or Ed Callister, who were both directly involved in the campaign. If it was Loose, it would have meant that two non-Mormons, Loose and Sutherland, were privately conferring with senior church officials Smith and Nibley on prohibition.

65 As noted below, Smith's instructions were followed and no LDS general authority ventured to discuss prohibition of alcohol at the church's semiannual general conference in October 1914.

66 The telegram does not appear to be extant, but was referred to in Morris's letter to Smoot the same day. C. M. Morris to Smoot, October 2, 1914, Smoot Papers.

67 Ibid. Morris was Smoot's closest confidant on campaign issues in 1914. Ironically, after his election was certain, Smoot confided in his diary that "I think we should take the lead in providing for future state wide prohibition but if possible allow the manufacture of beer for exportation and not destroy that business [,] also give ample time for the saloons to dispose of their property." Smoot was reluctant to move too quickly for fear of reinvigorating the anti-Mormon American Party; Charles W. Penrose "was fearful that it would not be acceptable to the Gentile element." Smoot Diary, November 13, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 247.

68 C. M. Morris to Smoot, October 3, 1914, Smoot Papers. Grant was a Democrat and for years owned the *Salt Lake Herald* when it was a Democratic paper. D. Michael Quinn, "Heber J. Grant," *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 657–59.

69 This extended to Smoot's own businesses. Smoot sometimes responded defensively when he was criticized for permitting the sale of alcohol at Smoot Drug in Provo, which he owned. Smoot to Smith, February 8, 1909, Smoot Papers.

70 Charles M. Nibley, Hyrum M. Smith, and Nephi L. Morris to Reed Smoot, George Sutherland, and Joseph Howell, telegram, January 30, 1909, as reproduced in "Why Has C.W. Nibley Switched? Or Is Church Really Fulfilling Pledges Made to Assist Smoot?" *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 8.

71 "Nibley and Others Did Not Receive an Answer," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 5, 1910, 1.

72 Ibid.

73 "Hemorrhage Has Chance for $1,000, Can Earn It by Producing That Much Talked of 'Answer,'" *Salt Lake Telegram*, November 2, 1910, 10.

74 "Rally at Ephraim Held by Democrats," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 22, 1914, "Moyle Turns Light on Senator Smoot, Thousand and More Voters at Democratic-Progressive Rally in Logan," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 28, 1914, 6.

75 Nibley to Smoot, July 9, 1914, Smoot Papers.

76 Smoot to Nibley, July 17, 1914, Smoot Papers.

77 We conducted a word search of a digital version of the Conference Report for October 1914 using the words "prohibition," "temperance," "alcohol," "liquor," "intoxicant," "stimulating," "beverage," and "word of wisdom." *Eighty-Fifth Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 4–6, 1914, 18 (George F. Richards), 71 (Heber Q. Hale), 77 (Heber J. Grant), 89 (David O. McKay), 130 (Joseph F. Smith), digital copy, accessed March 2018, at https://archive.org/details/conferencereport1914sa.

78 Smoot, diary, October 20, 22, 23, 25, 30, 31, November 2, 3, 4, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 240–45.

79 Smoot, diary, April 19, 20, September 18, October 21, 22, 23, 25, and November 2, 3, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 218, 220, 237, 240–41, 243, 244; "Senator Reed Smoot Is Enthusiastically Received," *Ogden Standard*, October 30, 1914, 3.

80 Smoot, diary, October 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, November 1, 2, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 241–44; Sessions, *Mormon Democrat*, 179.

81 Though neither the *Telegram* nor the *Tribune* appears to have formally endorsed Moyle, Smoot viewed both as being "bitterly" opposed to him, and they likely did oppose his reelection. Smoot, diary, April 27, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 222–23. Not surprisingly, the *Herald-Republican* endorsed Smoot, as did the *Standard*. "Utah Must Be True to Herself," *Ogden Standard*, November 2, 1914, 2.

82 "Does [*sic*] Portrait of President Smith, Likeness Declared to Be Excellent," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, November 1, 1914, sec. 2, 1.

83 This portrait likely remains the best-known portrait of Smith. See LDS Media Library, accessed March 2018, www.lds.org/media-library/images/joseph-f-smith-82912?lang=eng.

84 Moyle to Raskob, July 16, 1928, in Sessions, *A View of James Henry Moyle*, 59–60; "President Wilson Indorses Moyle," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 27, 1914, 14.

85 "Moyle and Smoot Close, Former Carries Latter's Own City," *Salt Lake Telegram*, November 4, 1914, 1; "Moyle and Smoot Close; Fusionists Carry County," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 4, 1914, 1. Smoot noted in his diary that "this was an anxious day for many people in Utah. The Tribune Telegram and Democrats were claiming my defeat all day and the Deseret News was no better. I knew I was elected by at least 2,000 but many doubted it." Smoot, Diary, November 4, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 1914. The election of Progressive James H. Mays over Republican E. O. Leatherwood for Utah's Second District Congressional seat was, however, one of the closest in State history, with a difference of 158 votes out of over 53,000 cast. Official Canvass, Abstract of State.

86 "Race Between Moyle and Smoot Is Close," *Deseret News*, November 4, 1914, 1.

87 Official Canvass, Abstract of Weber County.

88 Ibid.

89 Smoot, diary, November 4, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 244–45.

90 "Declares Recount Will Help Moyle," *Salt Lake Telegram*, November 4, 1914, 1. Salt Lake County, under the control of Republican officeholders, prepared a confusing ballot that favored Republicans. The first column listed Republican candidates, the second Socialists, the third Democrats, the fourth Socialist Labor candidates, and the fifth Progressives, which were identical to the third column. "List of Nominations," which was an advance copy of the official ballot, *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, October 30, 1914, 14; "Complaints Made on Form of Official Ballots, Charges Made that Republican Workers Are Misleading Voters," *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 29, 1914, 10.

91 Official Canvass, Abstract of State, Abstract of Salt Lake County.

92 Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 216–17.

93 Although Smoot won in Utah County by 67 votes, his percentage was 48.8 percent there compared to Moyle's of 48.2 percent. Official Canvass, Abstract of Utah County.

94 Official Canvass, Abstract of Weber County. Weber County was the only large Utah County in which either senatorial candidate received a majority of the vote (Socialist candidate J. F. Parsons, received about 4.5 percent). Democrats and Progressives hoped to attract at least 50 percent in Weber County and the swing to Smoot there was a critical part of the electoral result.

95 Official Canvass, Abstract of Weber County; "Total Vote in City and County," *Ogden Standard*, November 7, 1912, 8. The Socialist Parsons received about 8 percent of the vote in Weber County. Official Canvass, Abstract of Weber County. Total votes cast statewide for senator were 114,666. Official Canvass, Abstract of State.

96 Smoot, diary, November 4, 1914, Smoot Papers; Heath, *In the World*, 245.

97 Isaac Russell, "Seven Keys to Baldpate and One to Senator Smoot," *Progressive*, April 11, 1914, 4. Russell was a contributing editor to the *Progressive*, who was supposedly quoting "a Prominent Democrat of Utah who was also a prominent lawyer."

98 "Lower House of the Legislature Is a Tie," *Ogden Standard*, November 20, 1914, 3. If two rural legislative elections with a combined vote differential of eleven votes had gone the other way, non-Republicans would have had a 25–21 majority in the Utah House after the 1914 election. "Republicans Get Speaker," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, January 16, 1915, 1.

99 To some, Moyle also seemed aloof to the point of "creating the impression that he was arrogant." Frank H. Jonas, "The Different State," in *Politics in the American West*, ed. Frank H. Jonas (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), 331.

100 Sessions, *Mormon Democrat*, 182–84. Moyle was certain that he was a devout Latter-day Saint, having devoted himself to "the Church and its principles, its philosophy, divinity, history (modern and ancient)" and had come to a "knowledge of the [church's] divinity." He also believed that he had proclaimed his faith "with greater enthusiasm and devotion than was ever exhibited by the Senator and Apostle of Christ. I trust that I may (if in error) be pardoned for that unnecessary and probably inappropriate comparison." Ibid.

101 Ibid., 180. Ironically, Smoot believed that the *Deseret News* was biased in favor of Democrats and often complained to his friend, Nibley, about that bias. Smoot to Nibley, March 10, 1914; Smoot to Nibley, March 20, 1914; Smoot, diary, May 13, 1914; Smoot to Nibley, July 6, 1914; Loose to Smoot, July 17, 1914; all in Smoot Papers.

102 Godfrey, *Religion, Politics, and Sugar*, 142–43, 192–93.

103 Hinckley, *Moyle*, 269–91, 330–50; Sessions, *Mormon Democrat*, 199–238, 265–90.

104 "Clean Sweep Made in State by Democrats," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 9, 1916, 1; "Utah Is Wilson's by 15,000," *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, November 9, 1916, 1, 6; "Utah State Legislature Membership Roll, 1896–1996," in J. Brent Haymond, Janet L. Geyser, and Pamela R. Benzon, *The Utah State Legislature: Centennial History, 1896–1996* (Salt Lake City: Office of the Third House, House of Representatives, 1996), 251–301. The Utah State Legislature Membership Roll fails to recognize many Progressive officeholders, instead identifying them as Democrats.

Supreme Court Justices of Utah, March 5, 1926. Front, left to right: Joseph E. Frick, Valentine Gideon (Chief Justice), and Samuel R. Thurman. Back row: James W. Cherry and Daniel N. Straup. *Photo by C.R. Savage. Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 24369.*

OF CHURCH AND STATE:
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS AND THE 1922 SALT LAKE COUNTY SHERIFF'S ELECTION

BY LARRY R. GERLACH

The election of Benjamin Harries as Salt Lake County sheriff in 1922 constitutes a landmark in Utah political history. The involvement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the contentious campaign provoked a lengthy and convoluted lawsuit, the first formally to allege violation of the church-state provision of the state constitution. While failing to produce a ruling concerning acceptable and unacceptable ecclesiastical involvement in politics, the legal challenge—combined with widespread community controversy—had long-term consequences for future ecclesiastical participation in state and local elections. Thereafter, church leaders, most notably those in the highest ranks of the hierarchy, continued to comment on public policy issues involving religious beliefs, but refrained from official public endorsement of partisan political candidates.

The sheriff's election and subsequent lawsuit unveiled ongoing tensions over church influence in state politics, a common theme in Utah history.[1] Because the LDS church is doctrinally given to political as well as spiritual guidance, the line between sectarian and secular pursuits in government and public affairs has always been ambiguous. Committed theoretically to the separation of church and state but theologically to promoting Mormonism's secular "Kingdom of God," LDS leaders attempted to "build walls around Zion" through legislation reflecting the church's doctrines and beliefs about personal morality and behavior that often ran counter to those of secular society.[2] In Illinois and Missouri, Mormons alienated their neighbors by behaving as a political bloc that acted according to the dictates of church leadership. In Utah Territory the term "Theodemocracy" described the essential unity of church and state. Brigham Young, territorial governor from 1851 to 1858, continued to wield political power by virtue of his position as church president until his death in 1877. Continued Mormon dominance of political affairs produced hostile confrontations with the federal government, and perceptions of a church-state union in Utah subsequently delayed statehood.[3] To allay fears of the state of Utah operating as a theocracy, the

state constitution of 1896 addressed church-state prohibitions far more extensively than the U.S. Constitution and any other state charter.[4]

Despite increased population diversity, constitutional church-state provisions, and the replacement of the territorial sectarian parties—the Mormon People's Party and the non-Mormon Liberal Party—with affiliates of the national Democratic and Republican parties, the church continued to dominate Utah politics after statehood.[5] In 1899 church influence secured the election of Republican Thomas Kearns, to the U.S. Senate. After Joseph F. Smith became church president in 1901 the GOP dominated Utah politics until 1912.[6] Smith personified ecclesiastical politics. In 1900, as first counselor in the First Presidency, he reminded Mormons that "the temporal and the spiritual are blended" and advised them that in voting they should "heed the word of the Lord as to who is the right man."[7] Mormons, about eighty percent of the state's population, valued his advice; following his endorsement of William Howard Taft for president in 1912, Utah and Vermont became the only states to cast electoral votes for the Ohioan.[8] He also put his weight behind U.S. Senator Reed Smoot's "Federal Bunch," a GOP clique that worked in concert with Smith and other church leaders.[9] Continued church involvement in electoral politics prompted formation of the anti-Mormon American Party, which dominated Salt Lake City government from 1905 to 1912.[10] If after the demise of the American Party organized politics in the state no longer divided along religious lines, the church's renewed emphasis on enforcement of the Word of Wisdom health code renewed church-state tensions by orchestrating legislation in 1917 imposing statewide prohibition of alcohol and in 1921 banning the advertising and sale of cigarettes and cigarette paper as well as smoking in certain enclosed public spaces.[11]

Further challenges to established church and community conventions were wrought by the dramatic, nationwide revolution in manners and morals that characterized the 1920s.[12] The new social mores of the "Roaring Twenties" accentuated cultural differences between Utahns who were socially conservative, mostly Mormon, and those who were more progressive, mainly non-Mormon. The progressive element congregated in urban centers, the most important culturally and politically being Salt Lake City, home to a diverse population, the seat of state government, and LDS church headquarters.[13] Lifestyle preference and ineffective law enforcement led to the mockery of sumptuary legislation, and rampant lawlessness—prostitution, gambling, drugs, the bootlegging and illegal production of alcohol, and violations of recent tobacco prohibitions—became prevalent throughout the state. Attorney General Harvey Cuff in 1921 called Prohibition in Utah "a farce" and conceded the so-called "cigarette law" was cavalierly defied with impunity.[14]

Festering cultural contentions erupted with unprecedented furor and significance in the 1922 Salt Lake County sheriff's election. Nothing in the Democratic and Republican county conventions held in September indicated that the sheriff's contest would so dominate the November election. Both conventions adopted platforms pledging to "strictly enforce" laws on the books and nominated popular, experienced law enforcement officers for county sheriff. The GOP chose the incumbent sheriff, C. Frank Emery, who easily won over four opponents on the first ballot. Elected in 1920 after having previously held the post from 1901 to 1907, he was closely identified with Senator Smoot's "Federal Bunch." Democrats also selected on the first ballot John Corless, a building contractor who previously had served for six years, from 1914 to 1920, as deputy county sheriff.[15]

Although both Emery and Corless were Mormons whose respective parties had pledged to enforce the law, the *Deseret News,* owned and operated by the LDS church, immediately after the conventions issued a strongly worded editorial on September 23 expressing "disappointment" with the nominees for sheriff. It not only voiced the church's concerns about lax law enforcement and growing social profligacy, but also raised the possibility of an independent challenger to the sheriff nominees. Because peace officers who lack the courage "are not entitled to the suffrage of the people," the paper recommended "all patriotic citizens exercise the elective franchise, even by going so far, if they see fit, as to write in the name of one whom they think will fill a particular office better than any of the persons designated by party conventions."

The Salt Lake City and County, located on a block known as Washington Square, constructed in 1896. This image shows county commissioners seated at a large conference table on August 2, 1916. *Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 24058.*

The newspaper's implicit call for an independent sheriff candidate soon became a reality. On October 3, citizens dissatisfied with the party slates generally and the sheriff nominees in particular met at the Salt Lake City and County Building and formed a nine-member committee to canvass potential independent candidates. Democrats and Republicans were on the committee, but other than the Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Episcopal bishop of Utah, the members were LDS, three of whom held church administrative positions.[16]

Clergymen of various faiths were concerned about impact of the changing social order, none more so than Heber J. Grant, president of the LDS church since 1918. Two points of emphasis marked his administration. Foremost was the doctrinal emphasis on compliance with the Word of Wisdom, the dietary guidelines required for good standing in the church.[17] Believing that the church's health code and the restriction of the consumption of certain substances deemed "unwholesome" had sectarian benefit, he was ever a relentless champion of alcohol and tobacco prohibition[18] In 1908 as an apostle in the church, Grant had secured approval of a general conference resolution pledging "all officers and members" of the church "to do all in their power" to elect legislators who could enact laws to "close saloons and otherwise decrease the sale of liquor." He also supported the anticigarette law: "We ought to have purer communities, communities that are not ridden by vice, by pernicious habits and practices."[19] More generally, in secular affairs, he emphasized law and order. Resolutely decrying "a spirit of lawlessness," he repeatedly admonished Mormons to uphold the law: "No Latter-day Saint can in very deed be a Latter-day Saint if he does not honor and sustain and uphold the law."[20]

Thinking a hand-picked candidate more likely to stem the growing tide of social ills, Grant, an ardent Democrat, endorsed the challenge to party nominees at the General Conference of the LDS church on October 6, counseling members "to bury our politics and vote for the man favoring the retaining and enforcing of the

cigarette law." Church publications reinforced the electoral advice. The *Improvement Era* admonished Mormon males that public officials who failed to enforce the cigarette law "should be remembered in the election to come, and be set aside" in favor of candidates "publicly pledged to put forth their efforts to see that the law is properly enforced." *The Relief Society Magazine* encouraged women to ensure that elected law enforcement officers, the county sheriff in particular, "are strictly honest, that they are vigorous supporters of the laws, and that they have the courage to enforce them." [21]

Given disagreements over candidates and difficulties in organizing a full slate, the committee focused solely on the office of sheriff because it set the tone for law enforcement throughout the county. On October 11 the committee announced the candidacy of Benjamin R. Harries, son of an 1859 Mormon pioneer, chief probation officer of the Third Judicial District, and superintendent of Uintah Training School for Boys. He had been defeated in the Democratic convention by a vote of 263–128 by Corless, under whom he had served as deputy sheriff, from 1915 to 1920. Two days later the county clerk received a petition signed by 165 persons, a mix of non-LDS businessmen, Masons, and prominent Mormons requesting Harries' name be placed on the November ballot as an independent.[22]

Harries' candidacy appeared to result from a spontaneous mass movement, but it was initiated and coordinated by the Social Welfare League, a nonsectarian offshoot of the LDS Church's Social Advisory Committee founded in 1919 "for the promotion of movements to bring about better moral and social conditions."[23] While diverse faiths were represented in its membership, Mormons, including church officials, so dominated the SWL that the *Deseret News* published accounts of meetings and elections of officers. Prior to the county conventions, the SWL had warned it would not support candidates who were not pledged to "an active campaign of law enforcement."[24] The SWL was not alone in its concerns about rampant lawlessness and vice. On October 16 the Salt Lake Ministerial Association (SLMA), an ecumenical gathering of evangelical Protestant clergy opposed to the perceived immoral changes in traditional social manners and mores, voiced its support for Harries. President Frank W. Bross, pastor of Liberty Methodist Church, announced: "We favor the action of the Social Welfare League in placing an independent candidate for sheriff in the field and we will do all in our power for his election."[25] Shortly after statehood the SLMA had opposed polygamy and the LDS church's involvement in politics, but later joined the church's prohibition and anti-tobacco crusades and in 1918 had urged the city to appoint the "strongest man as sheriff."[26]

To promote Harries' election, the SWL appointed an executive committee on October 16 to establish a campaign headquarters, create a publicity committee, recruit volunteers to distribute literature to homes, select poll watchers, and schedule rallies in towns and LDS facilities throughout the county that would culminate in a pre-election mass meeting at the Assembly Hall on Temple Square. The committee was explicit about its purpose: because of "manifest carelessness, indifference and incompetency, the law-abiding citizens of Salt Lake County are justified in seeking the election of some other than the candidates of either of the dominant parties to fill this office."[27] Two Mormons, the chairman Delbert W. Parratt, superintendent of the Granite School District, and the executive secretary, Feramorz Y. Fox, principal of LDS High School, headed a campaign committee that was mostly LDS but also had as its members Bishop Moulton, the Reverend Bross, and Mark Rifenbark, pastor of St. Mark's Episcopal Church.[28]

With just four weeks to the November 7 election, Harries' committee faced a formidable task in mounting a campaign. They decided to utilize LDS church structure, an already established, extensive and highly effective organization with political potential. On Friday morning, October 28, a SWL delegation—Milton Bennion, dean of the University of Utah's school of education; George A. Eaton, assistant superintendent of Salt Lake City schools; the attorney Daniel Alexander; and the Reverend Bross of the SLMA—met with Grant to express their support for Harries. The president thereupon summoned the seven county stake presidents to a meeting with influential LDS community leaders to discuss the situation; they advised him that ward meetings throughout the county had declared in favor of Harries.[29]

Conspicuous involvement by LDS church authorities in the Harries campaign was a delicate matter as it raised both partisan political and church-state constitutional issues. Anticipating criticism, a "Statement by the First Presidency" appeared on the front page of the *Deseret News* on October 28. Intending "to avoid misunderstanding" regarding "matters political, which at the present time claim so much of the attention of the people," the governing body of the church affirmed that members were free to make their own political choices because the political preferences of LDS officials were not to be regarded as declarations of church preferences and because "The Church has no political party or candidates preferences." The statement also read: "It should also be clearly understood that any personal preference entertained or expressed by any official of the Church carries with it only such weight or influence as would characterize the personal opinion of any man of commensurate standing and prestige among his fellows."

The same day the *News* published a "Law and Order" editorial that, while reiterating the neutrality of the First Presidency's statement, effectively endorsed the candidacy of Harries by pointing out that he had "the hearty support" of the SWL, the SLMA, and LDS church authorities, "including the presidencies of the seven stakes in Salt Lake County, and other organizations." Church support for Harries became explicit the next day, October 29, at the quarterly conference of Salt Lake County's Pioneer Stake. Heber J. Grant, the typically outspoken and forthright church president, directly urged members to vote for Harries. An ardent Democrat with a keen interest in partisan politics, Grant said he had never before in his capacity as church president publicly endorsed a political candidate but, believing the choice of a sheriff "a moral issue rather than a political one," hoped voters "will see fit to ignore their political preferences and vote for this man." His endorsement, which promptly received the unanimous support of the stake presidents, was announced at county ward meetings the next night.[30]

Although it was now obvious that LDS church officials supported Harries, the most important factor before and after the election was President Grant's circular letter distributed throughout the church's organizational structure and reprinted as an unmistakable point of emphasis on the front page of the *Deseret News* from November 3 to November 7:

> Communication from
> President Heber J. Grant
>
> Salt Lake City Nov. 3, 1922
>
> To Members of the Church Residing in Salt Lake County.
>
> Dear Brethren and Sisters:
>
> For a number of years the Church, through several of its general auxiliary organizations, has contributed to the Social Welfare League of Salt Lake City. This organization, under the leadership of Dean Milton Bennion of the University of Utah, has undertaken to bring about the co-operation of churches, agencies, and moral forces within the County of Salt Lake for the better enforcement of law and the improvement of social conditions.
>
> In an earnest effort to advance the cause for which it stands, the League has secured the nomination of an independent candidate for the office of sheriff. This action has been induced wholly without reference to partisan political considerations and rests entirely upon the conviction, born of a long experience with the administrators of the law, that the social and moral welfare of the community will be best subserved in the election of a candidate without political ties of any sort whatsoever, who is committed to the exclusive platform of law enforcement and social betterment, and whose allegiance shall be avowedly to the League and its large constituency of institutions and people favorable to the strict enforcement of the law and the maintenance of high moral standards.
>
> We give our full support and sanction to the worthy objects sought to be accomplished by the Social Welfare League in furthering the candidacy of

> Mr. Ben R. Harries, independent candidate for sheriff. We urge members of the Church and all other good citizens of the county who stand for clean, wholesome government, to co-operate with the League in securing the election of its candidate. In so doing, we disclaim any intention to exert influence in partisan politics. The questions and conditions involved are essentially oral ones. On all such questions we reserve the right to speak even though they involve political considerations, as we have heretofore announced in our published statement. No member of the Church is under the least coercion or restraint in the expression of his opinion at the polls. We appeal merely to the judgment of men and women in support of a movement which we believe to be calculated to promote the welfare of all good people who reside in Salt Lake County.
>
> HEBER J. GRANT, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.[31]

As Election Day approached, given the unprecedented public expression of opinion by Grant and other prominent LDS leaders, the county sheriff race, normally of low voter interest, overshadowed the U.S. Senate contest between the incumbent Democrat William H. King and Republican-challenger Ernest Bamberger. Responding to growing support for Harries, Corless and Emery ran newspaper ads asserting their qualifications as candidates and commitment to law enforcement, Emery defending his record as sheriff by touting the number of liquor violation fines imposed and stills and liquor destroyed during his tenure. As Harries was confident of support from Mormon voters, his ads appeared in the *Telegram* and *Tribune* but not the *News*, which editorialized that he "has behind him moral forces and organizations" and would fulfill his pledge to "enforce the law and clean out the dens of vice" in the county.[32] The *Telegram* and *Tribune*, while deploring the "unjust and unfounded" rumors about Emery, declined to endorse a candidate. The *Citizen*, a Republican-oriented weekly representing mercantile interests, supported Emery because the election of Harries—"the candidate of the Ministerial coalition, the Mormon elders and the purity squads"—would result in "gigantic costs" to taxpayers from an expanded enforcement effort "doomed to failure."[33]

On Election Day, with heavier than usual voting with a record number of split-ticket ballots, King narrowly edged Bamberger (48.6 to 48.2 percent) while the GOP swept the county ticket save for one commissioner and sheriff. Harries, who reportedly received most of the write-ins, garnered 15,866 votes (39 percent) to Emery's 12,070 (30 percent) and Corless' 10,941 (28 percent).[34]

Widespread discontent with law enforcement notwithstanding, Harries' independent candidacy likely would have been unsuccessful without extensive support from high-ranking Mormon leadership directed at the largest voter demographic in the city and county.[35] The private campaign discussions within the church hierarchy are not known.[36] However the First Presidency statement and other public endorsements from prominent authorities such as Elder George Albert Smith, LDS apostle and superintendent of the church's Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, combined with rallies held in church facilities on the eve of the election, were unmistakable indications of authoritative church support.[37]

Grant's repeated admonitions to members about lawlessness and vice were in keeping with church teachings and concerns about social issues, and reprinting the First Presidency's prescriptive statement in the *Desert News* affirmed the belief in political free agency. But the church's news organ printing Grant's endorsement of Harries, reprinting his Pioneer Stake address on Election Day, and publishing an editorial advising voters how to scratch a party ticket and write in a vote for Harries—not to mention Feramorz Fox's releasing from class some 500 LDS high school and college students, many of whom favored Harries, in order to "give information at the polls"—were unprecedented direct church involvements in an election.[38]

Assertions of "influence" are easier made than demonstrated. Not all members of religious faiths follow unquestionably doctrinal teachings

Anthony W. Ivins, President Heber J. Grant, and Charles W. Nibley of the First Presidency conducting business at LDS church headquarters in Salt Lake City. *Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 24420.*

or institutional pronouncements, let alone the personal opinions of church leaders on secular issues. While the views of Salt Lake Ministerial Association clergy may have influenced their individual congregations, the repeated public endorsement of a man regarded by an entire denomination as "Prophet, Seer and Revelator" likely had a greater impact on voting behavior given that many Latter-day Saints were predisposed to follow the judgment of church leaders. Mormons constituted a majority of the electorate, but the secret ballot makes it impossible to prove that they actually heeded Grant's endorsement. Still, if the actual impact on LDS voters cannot be determined, the response of Datus E. Hammond, second counselor in the Pioneer Stake, to Grant's October 29 endorsement cannot be underestimated: "Today a matter is presented to us respecting the stand we are advised to take regarding the support of an independent candidate for sheriff. If our members follow the counsel and advise of those who preside over them they will be blessed."[39]

Ultimately, however, the statistical breakdown of the voting is less important than the ensuing election controversies. Two efforts were immediately taken to prevent Harries from taking office. First, the county clerk was advised that Harries' failure to comply with state electoral law in properly filing records of campaign expenses was grounds for voiding the election. Second, it was alleged that since "with but few exceptions" church leaders in the county "came out in favor of Harries," his election violated the church-state provision of the state constitution.[40]

The procedural issue was quickly resolved. Harries denied violating the law because he "had nothing to do with my being put on the Independent ticket" or with the campaign, while Feramorz Fox, who had filed the expense records, claimed Harries "did not spend a dime on his campaign as a candidate" but had contributed money simply "as a citizen to the cause of electing an Independent candidate for sheriff." The claims were disingenuous, but Harries was eventually able to file properly within the grace period for compliance. The more controversial constitutional question would not be resolved for four years.

Concern over church interference in the election was widespread. While the *Deseret News* blamed the "lawless element" for the challenges to Harries' victory, the *Citizen* attributed it to frustration with those who "followed the commands of the minister[s] and bishops."[41] That Frank Emery and his family nearly abandoned their faith over church influence in the election illustrates the depth of resentment among some Mormons. Harries' post-election meetings with President Grant and his campaign committee at the L.D.S. Business College to discuss appointees and enforcement, along with Harries' implied consent not to "frequently act contrary to their advice," furthered the impression that he was not truly an independent candidate.[42] That view was reinforced by his naming Mormons to key positions: Edwin H. Doherty, chief deputy; William T. Ayland, chief criminal deputy; Benedict Siegfus, criminal deputy; and George H. Vine, chief jailor.[43]

Opposition to Harries came to a head on December 23 with the filing of a complaint bearing ninety-three signatures in the Third District Court.[44] *Orman W. Ewing, et al. v. Benjamin R. Harries* argued that his election should be "annulled and held for naught" because the "combining and conspiring" of the LDS church, the SWL, and the SLMA to influence the election violated Article I, Section 4 of the state constitution: "There shall be no union of Church and State, nor shall any church dominate the State or interfere with its functions." The primary target of the suit was the LDS church, specifically President Grant. The petitioners emphasized the "intimidation and undue influence" conveyed "in writing and by speech" by leaders of the LDS church, whose members—a majority of the electorate—"are taught to believe and do believe that the directions, orders and advice" of the president "not only in spiritual matters but with respect to temporal affairs." With no other legal remedy, the complaint asked the court to issue a temporary injunction preventing Harries from taking office and ordering him to show cause why it should not be made perpetual.[45]

Harries initially disregarded the complaint and continued preparations to take office. On December 26, Judge William M. McCrea subpoenaed Harries to contest the injunction and eight high-ranking LDS officials, including Grant, to produce documents relating to the candidacy of Harries, "especially any such thing in the way of direction or advice to voters."[46] McCrae's action made clear the seriousness and potential constitutional implications of the legal proceedings against the LDS church. The nature of the controversy had changed. Opposition to ecclesiastical involvement in Harries' election was one thing; the prospect of a contentious lawsuit against the LDS church was quite another. Whether fearful of potential religious discord or an unwillingness to participate in the legal action against the church, six complaint signatories on December 28 petitioned the court to remove their names as they did not know they would become plaintiffs in a lawsuit; ultimately twenty-four people, mostly non-LDS businessmen, were withdrawn.[47]

On December 30 a "huge crowd" packed Judge William M. McCrae's courtroom. Neither a native Utahn nor LDS, but raised in Salt Lake City, the judge was a Republican and Mason.[48] Grant appeared with his attorney Franklin S. Richards, general counsel for the church, and Stephen L. Richards of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles but quickly left when attorneys for each side agreed to release the president to attend to church business until needed.[49] Neither Harries nor the plaintiffs appeared in court; both parties were represented by a trio of attorneys.[50]

Judge McCrae faced two difficult juridical tasks: to determine the merits of the complaint and to decide whether the case was one of equity, wherein he had the discretion to render a decision ordering action, or one of law, which required a decision, usually involving damages, based on the application of statutory provisions and judicial precedents. The attorneys for each side agreed "the real issue" was "the line to be drawn" on the role of church leaders in political campaigns as allowed by the state constitution, but they differed as to what action unconstitutionally crossed the line. Harries, hoping to avoid an injunction, presented an affidavit asserting the belief that ecclesiastical officials had not "improperly or illegally influenced voters." His defense attorneys then moved to strike several paragraphs of the complaint as being 'frivolous, redundant and superfluous" and filed a demurrer challenging the legal basis for the lawsuit. The plaintiffs, believing the

case involved equity, thus voiding the election of sheriff, asked for a restraining order preventing Harries from assuming duties as sheriff. Judge McCrae, professing insufficient time to consider a suit of such consequence, gave each side a victory by denying the plaintiff's motion for a restraining order as well as the defense's demurrer. Even though he believed the secret ballot made it virtually impossible to determine actual church influence on the election, he permitted the case to go to trial should the plaintiffs be able to make the case for undue interference. Harries had until January 5, 1923, to answer the complaint.[51]

Four days after taking office on January 1, Harries returned to court, presenting a written plea denying specific allegations in the complaint. His attorneys then again argued that the complaint lacked sufficient facts to support its allegations, was ambiguous and uncertain in its charges, and failed to meet the requirements of law for adjudication in court. They argued further that the entire proceeding was irregular not only because the plaintiffs had not applied to the state attorney general to bring action as stipulated by electoral law, but also because only aggrieved candidates, not private citizens, could do so. Moreover, as the attorneys argued, President Grant had endorsed Harries only "as an individual and not as the leader of a church."[52]

On January 20 McCrae sustained the defense demurrer on the grounds that the complaint, based largely on the alleged actions of LDS church officials, "as it is now framed, does not state sufficient facts with such certainty and clearness as good pleading requires to entitle the plaintiffs to relief as requested."[53] When an amended complaint presented on January 23 quoted extensively from church publications, statements from the LDS president, general authorities, stake officers, and ward bishops, defense counsel immediately filed another demurrer saying the complaint still failed to substantiate charges. McCrae subsequently heard a series of contending arguments before deciding on March 24 to overrule the defense demurrer and order Harries to stand trial on the merits of the case.[54]

Harries' lead attorney, Barnard Stewart, then applied to the Utah Supreme Court on March 31 for a writ of prohibition challenging McCrae's authority to hear the case contending the suit was contrary to law and that enjoining the sheriff from continuing to perform his duties would cause "irreparable damage and injury" to county voters. The Supreme Court granted the alternate writ, ordering all matters be held in abeyance until Judge McCrae showed cause for assuming jurisdiction. The hearing was set for April 23, but it was delayed until July 9 owing to filings of competing answers, demurrers, and alternative writs, most notably the plaintiff's "sixty-three page booklet crammed with legal citations and arguments" detailing church influence in the election.[55] In response, Harries' attorneys asked the Supreme Court for a writ to prevent McCrae from restraining him from assuming the office of sheriff, holding that the "sole question" was jurisdiction, not "the truth or falsity of the complaint."[56] On September 29 the Supreme Court denied the writ of prohibition, ruling that the case involved electoral law, not equity, and issued a remittitur transferring the case back to the district court for trial.[57] Harries' attorneys, believing the decision was "a grievous error," unsuccessfully petitioned for a rehearing.[58]

The trial in district court began on November 9 and concluded on December 28.[59] On January 28, 1924, McCrae, citing the supreme court's ruling that his court was without jurisdiction because the original complaint was an equity proceeding, not an election contest, decided in favor of Harries by granting the defense motion to strike most of the plaintiff's amended complaint and sustaining the defense demurrer to the original equity complaint. Then on February 16, responding to a motion from Harries' attorneys that the forty-day statutory time limit for challenging electoral law had passed, McCrae officially terminated the proceedings by dismissing the original complaint and assessing costs against the plaintiffs.[60]

Having overcome the legal challenge, Harries waged a losing battle to fulfill his electoral pledge to enforce restrictive social regulatory laws. The arrest of a Magna merchant for selling cigarettes on January 15, 1923—the first instance in more than a year of prosecuting the 1921 anticigarette law—was followed by the wholesale arrest of persons for smoking in public, including four prominent community

Main Street in Salt Lake City, ca. 1922–1923. *Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 19265.*

leaders jailed for smoking cigars after dinner in a restaurant. The local criticism and national embarrassment engendered by Harries' enforcement efforts led to repeal of the unpopular statute on March 8, 1924.[61] His efforts to enforce gambling and liquor laws—raiding "roadhouses" and private homes, strictly implementing curfew for minors, increased citations for "reckless driving and speeding," among other measures—also created firestorms of opposition. He was also the target of successful lawsuits as overzealous enforcement involved illegal searches and seizures as well as arrests that violated due process.[62]

The negative response from some segments of the community was predictable given that a decade earlier the aggressive anticrime crusade against primarily prostitution and gambling directed by Brigham F. Grant, the head of the Salt Lake police department and Heber J. Grant's half-brother, had deeply divided the city.[63] During Harries' tenure, opposition to law enforcement activities was both specific and

symptomatic: dissatisfaction with church involvement in the anticigarette and Prohibition campaigns as well as the 1922 sheriff election fueled in 1923 the revival of the old anti-Mormon American Party, whose ranks now included Ewing and defense attorneys Henry Allen and Andrew Hoppaugh, while mounting social concerns contributed to the growth of anti-immigrant sentiment and the Ku Klux Klan.[64]

Amid the furor, Harries still enjoyed unwavering support from the LDS church. President Grant continued to insist that "every law" should be enforced. The church-owned *Deseret News*, admitting the sheriff's office "has made mistakes," nonetheless urged support for his "persistent effort to enforce the law" and condemned the "conspiracy" to "drive him from office." The SWL, alleging members of "the underworld" were responsible for much of the criticism, printed 30,000 pamphlets supporting the sheriff and even solicited funds to fight lawsuits.[65] It was all to no avail as illegal and unconventional activities continued: professed

moral precepts were one thing, preferred social practices quite another.

By fall 1924 Harries was defending himself not only against public criticism and lawsuits but, once again in court, over his election. In August attorneys for the plaintiffs began proceedings in the state supreme court, perhaps presuming a more favorable venue. None of the five members of the high court were native Utahns, and only one was LDS, Samuel R. Thurman, the first and only Mormon appointed to the tribunal since statehood; three were Democrats, four fraternalists, and three belonged to Masonic lodges that banned Mormons.[66] On September 22 the tribunal received an assignment of error seeking a reversal of the district court's dismissal of the suit against Harries and charging costs to the plaintiffs. The plaintiff attorneys argued that the complaint should not have been stricken because the allegations, "even though defective," met the requirements of an election case.[67] The justices subsequently received several counter motions and briefs, heard arguments during May 1925, then took the matter under advisement for more than a year.

Meanwhile, despite being beleaguered by mounting lawsuits, negative public opinion, and the futility of enforcing the law, Harries sought reelection in 1926. This time he secured the Democratic nomination, defeating by three votes Stratton W. Tooke, who had signed the original election complaint. His Republican opponent was Clifford W. Patten, Salt Lake City police detective and former member of the local KKK and the Order of Seven, a GOP clique.

An unprecedented flurry of newspaper campaign ads containing ad hominem charges and conflicting but increasingly negative assessments of Harries' performance illustrated the ferocity of the contest. Most conspicuously, Harries lacked the ecclesiastical support he had previously enjoyed. LDS leaders in particular were mindful of the criticism of their political posturing in the 1922 election and the negative publicity attendant to the legal proceedings, as well as disheartened by Harries' overzealous and largely ineffective law enforcement efforts. The *Telegram* thought Harries received "more criticism for over-zealousness than for any other thing," but the *Desert News* claimed his recent lax enforcement efforts, even complicity with bootleggers, had left the county "wide open." The SWL and the Civic Betterment League endorsed him, but his efforts to imply that he had church support were countered by George Albert Smith, Superintendent of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, declaring: "L.D.S. church auxiliary organizations have not authorized the Social Welfare League to represent them in the endorsement of any political candidate."[68] On Election Day, Patten soundly defeated Harries, garnering 62 percent of the votes, 30,448 to 18,841, a margin of 11,607 ballots.[69]

Just as Harries' tenure as sheriff ended, his electoral legal battle resumed. On November 8, the Utah Supreme Court, ruling that Judge McCrae had erred in denying the plaintiffs the right to amend their original complaint, remanded the case to the Third District Court for trial as an electoral contest. Although the justices declined to pass on the sufficiency of the complaint—that it was unlawful "for the leaders of a church organization to urge in the strongest possible terms the members of such organization to combine and unite their efforts for the purpose of electing a particular candidate for office"—they denied that the church-state constitutional provision of the state constitution "had any bearing on the questions raised." Granting that the opinions of "a high churchman" might have "great influence," the decision written by Justice Joseph E. Frick confessed an inability to determine either actual voter behavior or "promulgate an intelligent rule in respect to how far a churchman may go by oral or written speech to induce his fellow church member vote for a particular candidate."[70]

The contentious constitutional litigation fought tenaciously in two courts for four years ended without judicial resolution. The plaintiffs, having made their procedural point in the reversal of McCrae's dismissal of their case, now apparently decided not to pursue the matter further as there is no subsequent court record concerning the case. Litigation had not prevented Harries from serving a four-year term as sheriff, and with his reelection defeat the matter became moot.

The Harries election controversy left unresolved, or even addressed, the meaning of the state constitutional provision: "There shall be no union of Church and State, nor shall any church dominate the State or interfere with its functions." Given the principal contention in the original complaint—that the LDS church, with support from the SLMA, had conspired to influence voters to support Harries—the Supreme Court's contention that the constitutional issue was not relevant to the case constituted purposeful evasion of the issue. Since the composition of the court, unlike the legislature and most other state governmental administrative units, was predominantly non-Mormon, the avoidance was likely not protection of the LDS church but a prudent decision to avoid rendering a decidedly controversial decision that would have deeply fractured the community and surely been appealed, perhaps to the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition to the difficulty of determining whether the case involved equity or law, there were practical considerations. Since it would eventually have been adjudicated as an equity case, Justice Frick's *obiter dicta*—nonbinding opinions unrelated to the legal basis for court's decision—not only addressed the unreasonableness of overturning an election "where at the best only a conjecture could be made" and would "in the long run be more pernicious than the alleged interferences," but also proposed an effective remedy—that "the evils of so-called interference by church organizations will be corrected in time by the members themselves. Tolerance and intelligent discussion of such matters will be far more fruitful in accomplishing reform than lawsuits."[71]

Without a court decision on the merits of the case, the Harries election controversy failed to determine the parameters of appropriate political involvement by religious institutions. But since ethically it is the deed, not the result, that matters, the well-intentioned attempt by the SLMA and LDS leaders to counter perceived social ills by bypassing the established political system and using the authority of the church to influence the election of a handpicked independent candidate surely violated the spirit if not the letter of the constitution's church-state provisions. There is, after all, an obvious difference between church-inspired statements about social issues involving doctrinal teachings or moral values and partisan political endorsements of candidates for public office. And there is a distinction between individual clergymen addressing their congregations and official pronouncements by the leader of an entire religious denomination.

Support for Harries came from a coalition of religious organizations, but the LDS church was the principal player, given the extent of its involvement and influence on the predominately Mormon electorate. Although they also gave affirmations of political free will, Mormon officials also attempted to influence the election by supporting Harries' independent candidacy throughout the church's administrative structure and public endorsement repeated on the front page of the *Deseret News*. If some Mormons may have ignored Grant's public statement, others likely interpreted it as an authoritative *ex cathedra* directive from their divinely inspired prophet. Beyond the question of its constitutionality, church involvement in the election not only misjudged popular sentiment, as was shown by Harries' crushing defeat in 1926, but also was assuredly unwise as it caused widespread community discord and contentious litigation. In acknowledging in 1921 the backlash to the church's role in supporting the anti-cigarette law, Elder Richard R. Lyman pleaded: "If we have been too intense in this campaign, may we be forgiven."[73] Following the Harries election controversy, Apostle Anthony Ivins conceded at the church General Conference on April 8, 1923: "I know of no other question which has so disturbed the peaceful relationship which should exist between neighbor [and] communities" as "the proper relationship which should exist between the church and the state, and the application and effect of the laws given by the Lord, and those enacted by man." Nonetheless, while counseling members to obey civil law, he did not "wish to infer that the Priesthood should not be exercised in the promotion of the temporal interest of the people."[74] Ultimately, Judge Frick's observation that conflicts would best "be corrected in time by the members themselves" resonated. In 1933 the First Presidency hoped Mormons would vote against repeal of Prohibition, but decided "the Church as an organization could not take part in the campaign for

repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment since this was a partisan political question."[75]

While cognizant that personal opinion can be taken as official pronouncement, the LDS First Presidency, with its unremitting interest in politics and promotion of legislation embodying church moral values, found it difficult to refrain from voicing electoral opinion. In 1928 Grant declined Reed Smoot's strong solicitation of support and coupled admonitions for the faithful "to seek God our Heavenly Father to guide them politically as well as religiously" with the affirmation: "I do not believe it justified to mingle religious influence with civil government."[76] In 1932 Anthony Ivins's personal opposition to Smoot's reelection was well known, and in the 1936 U.S. presidential campaign J. Reuben Clark and Grant favored presidential candidate Alfred Landon.[77] But in both instances the support was privately expressed, not in their capacities as church officials. Grant, in a front-page *Deseret News* editorial, affirmed that his support was purely personal: "Church members, who believe the revelations and the words of the Prophet, must stand for the Constitution. Every patriot, loving his country and its institutions, should feel in duty bound to vote to protect it."[78] The impolitic endorsement, incorrectly considered the strongest partisan sanction the church had ever made, cost the paper "thousands of subscribers" [79] and was a lesson learned: since then the church has been careful to avoid even indirect public statements in national elections that could be construed as official endorsements.[80]

Granted the moral obligation of churches and religious leaders to speak out on social issues and their constitutional right as individuals to support candidates for office, there remains a thin line between church and state in Utah. With approximately two-thirds of Utahns identifying as LDS, most elected officials are Mormons inclined to enact laws that reflect church preferences supported by members who typically exhibit "an unusual respect for authority exercised by leaders within the church hierarchical priesthood structure."[81] Consequently, the LDS church, while not openly involved in partisan elections or legislative decision-making, clearly exercises predominate influence over public policies through private consultations with candidates for office and government officials; pronouncements concerning such matters as liquor consumption, abortion, pari-mutuel betting, a state lottery, same-sex marriage, and medical marijuana; censorship of art exhibits and broadcasts of national television programs; and avoidance of commercial activity, community recreational activities, and holiday observances on Sundays.[82] Ultimately, it is impossible to determine the impact of ecclesiastical commentaries on social issues, whether offered as affirmations of religious principles or expressions of God's will on voting behavior. And while differences, however ill-defined, exist between counsel and coercion, control and influence, given Mormon hegemony and homogeneity it is perhaps inevitable that concerns and rumors about the involvement of the LDS church in public and legislative affairs remain sensitive, often contentious, topics of political discourse in the Beehive State.[83]

Notes

1 For various perspectives on the historic relationship between religion and politics in Utah, see Jeffrey E. Sells, ed., *God and Country: Politics in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).

2 For theory and practice, see Therald N. Jensen "Mormon Theory of Church and State" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1938); G. Edward Janmosik, "Political Theory of the Mormon Church" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1951); Jo Ann Barnett Schipps, "The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1965); and Frank H. Jonas, "UTAH! The Different State," in *Politics in the American West*, edited Frank H. Jonas (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969), 327–79.

3 D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 79–103, and *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions Of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 226–61, 262–313.

4 Article I, Section. 4. The rights of conscience shall never be infringed. The State shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust or for any vote at any election; nor shall any person be incompetent as a witness or juror on account of religious belief or the absence thereof. There shall be no union of Church and State, nor shall any church dominate the State or interfere with its functions. No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or for the support of any ecclesiastical establishment.
Article III. Perfect toleration of religious sentiment is guaranteed. No inhabitant of this State shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her mode of religious worship; but polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited.

5 Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 54–58. See also Reuben Joseph Snow, "The American Party in Utah: A Study of Political Party Struggles During the Early Years of Statehood [1900–1920]" (MA thesis, University of Utah, 1964); Donald Bruce Gilchrist, "An Examination of the Problem of L.D.S. Church Influence in Utah Politics, 1890–1916" (MS thesis, University of Utah, 1965); Darwin Kay Craner, "The Influence of the L.D.S. Church in Utah Politics, 1902–1916" (MS thesis, University of Utah 1969); and Kenneth G. Stauffer, "Utah Politics, 1912–1918" (PhD diss. University of Utah, 1972).

6 State legislator Nephi L. Morris, a Republican, voted for Kearns despite thinking him "an ignorant ass" when "an apostle of the Church made a positive command, in the name of the president of the Church, that I do that thing. To my remonstrances and protests and arguments, there was only a threat—no man who went contrary to the wishes of the prophet would prosper." Stauffer, "Utah Politics," 9.

7 *Seventy-First Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 1900, 46. Hereafter cited as *Conference Report*.

8 The endorsement, in the form of a signed editorial, "The Coming Election," in *The Improvement Era* 15 (October 1912): 1121–22, generated considerable criticism, thereby causing him to avoid future partisan preferences. On population, see Bruce T. Dyer, "A Study of the Forces Leading to the Adoption of Prohibition in Utah in 1917" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), 1.

9 Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 130.

10 Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, CO: Pruett, 1984), 140–41.

11 Thomas G. Alexander, "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (1981): 78–88; Stauffer, "Utah Politics," 100–10, 160–61. For information on the Eighteenth Amendment, ratified in 1919, see Larry E. Nelson, "Utah Goes Dry," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Fall 1973): 341–57; Dyer, "A Study of the Forces Leading to the Adoption of Prohibition in Utah"; Brent G. Thompson, "Standing Between Two Fires: Mormons and Prohibition, 1908–1917," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 35–52; and John S. H. Smith, "Cigarette Prohibition in Utah, 1921–1923," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Fall 1973): 358–72.

12 See Nathan Miller, *New World Coming: The 1920s and the Making of Modern America* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2004) and the still valuable Frederick L. Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1931).

13 See Linda Sillitoe, *A History of Salt Lake County* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1996), 127–67 and Alexander and Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles*, 125–95. The 1920 Federal Census listed the population of Utah as 449,396, Salt Lake City as 119,100 and Salt Lake County as 159,282.

14 See, e.g., Larry Earl Nelson, "Problems of Prohibition Enforcement in Utah, 1917–1933" (MS thesis, University of Utah, 1970); Smith, "Cigarette Prohibition in Utah"; Bruce N. Westergren, "Utah's Gamble with Pari-Mutuel Betting in the Early Twentieth Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1989): 4–23; and Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Bootlegging in Zion: Making and Selling the 'Good Stuff,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 268–91; and Jody Bailey and Robert S. McPherson, "'Practically Free from the Taint of the Bootlegger': A Closer Look at Prohibition in Southeastern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Spring 1989): 150–64.

15 *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Telegram*, and *Salt Lake Tribune* each on September 19, 20, and 22, 1922. Because variable coverage requires multiple citations to the three Salt Lake newspapers, the titles are henceforth abbreviated *News*, *Telegram*, and *Tribune*.

16 The other members were Delbert W. Parratt, superintendent of Granite School District; Milton Bennion, dean of University of Utah's School of Education; George A. Little, Garfield bishop; Ranald.M. Woolley, Magna bishop; Charles H. Hyde, a member of the LDS Pioneer Stake and *Deseret News* sales manager; George A. Vine, county jailer; and Harvey C. Carlisle, Salt Lake City car dealer. *News*, October 4, 1922 and *Tribune*, October 12, 1922.

17 *Doctrine and Covenants*, 89:5–8.

18 James G. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints,* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Desert Book, 1992), 496, 524–25.

19 *Seventy-Ninth Semi-Annual Conference Report*, October 1908, 60, 64–65. When in 1934 Utah became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Twenty-first Amendment, thus ending Prohibition, Heber Grant said: "I have never felt so humiliated in my life over anything as that the state of Utah voted for the repeal of prohibition." *One Hundred Fifth Semi-Annual Conference Report*, October 1934, 139.

20 *Ninetieth Semi-Annual Conference Report*, October 1919, 12. See also Loman Franklin Aydelotte, "The Political Thought of Heber J. Grant, Seventh President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965).

21 *Ninety-Third Semi-Annual Conference Report*, October 1922, 5; *Improvement Era* 25 (October 1922): 1116–17; *Improvement Era* 26 (December 1922): 100–3; *The Relief Society Magazine* 9 (October 1922): 512–13.

22 *Telegram*, October 12, 1922; *Tribune*, October 14, 1922.

23 *News*, January 20 and 22, 1941; *Tribune*, January 20, 1941.

24 Correlation Committee and Social Advisory Committee Minutes, Vol. 2: April 19, 1921, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City; *News*, November 8, 1919, February 24, August 26, 29, 1922.

25 *Tribune*, October 30, 1922. Membership rolls are not extant, but it is likely that some Mormons were participants.

26 Snow, "American Party in Utah," 20, 52; Smith, "Cigarette Prohibition," 363–64; Alexander and Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles*, 150–68.

27 *News*, October 17, 1922.

28 *News*, October 17 and November 2, 3, 4, 1922; *Telegram*, November 5, 1922. Committee members were listed in Harries' newspaper ads.

29 *Telegram* and *Tribune*, October 30, 1922.

30 *News, Telegram*, and *Tribune*, October 30, 1922.

31 First Presidency, Circular Letters, box 1, fd. 4, Church History Library, Salt Lake City. The *News* did not publish on Sunday, November 5.

32 *News*, November 2 and 4, 1922.

33 *Citizen*, November 4, 1922.

34 The Farmer-Labor and Socialist parties' joint candidate, Thomas F. Enyon, got 1,395 votes. *News*, November 8, 1922; *Telegram*, November 8 and 23; *Tribune*, November 8, 22, 24, 1922. For King-Bamberger, see Brad E. Hainsworth, "Utah State Elections, 1916–1924" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 1968), 147–227.

35 It is not known how many residents of Salt Lake City and County were Mormons, but it was recognized that they constituted the largest demographic. Of the 1920 state population of 453,000, there were only about 20,400 Catholics and 13,800 Protestants. Peterson and Cannon, *Awkward State of Utah,* 250.

36 The Heber J. Grant Collection, MS 1233, containing his diary and Letterpress Copybook, 1922–1925, and the Stephen L. Richards Papers, MS 4796, in the LDS Church History Library, are "closed to research." Anthony Ivins, an inveterate diarist, made no entries from November 28, 1921, to April 4, 1924, and from October 24, 1924, to June 1, 1925. Elizabeth Oberdick Anderson, ed., *Cowboy Apostle: The Diaries of Anthony W. Ivins, 1875–1932* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2013), 597–98.

37 Prominent LDS speakers at the rallies held at the Granite Stake tabernacle, Sandy First Ward, Riverton and Union wards, and the Assembly Hall included Parratt; Anthony W. Ivins of the First Presidency; Brigham F. Grant, former Salt Lake City police chief (1912-1916) who was currently superintendent of LDS Hospital and YMMIA board member; Newell K. Young, principal of the Murray LDS Seminary; Bishop Julius A. Rockwood; and Herman J. Gubler. Prominent non-LDS religious leaders who spoke were Frank Bross and George E. Davies, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. *News*, November 3, 4 and 6, 1922.

38 November 6, 1922; *Telegram*, November 7, 1922.

39 *Tribune*, October 30, November 3, 5, 1922.

40 The newspapers did not identify who raised questions about the election. See *News*, *Salt Lake Telegram*, and *Tribune*, November 22–23, 1922.

41 *News*, November 23, 1922; *Citizen*, November 11, 1922.

42 Hainsworth, "Utah State Elections," 228; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 56.

43 *Tribune*, December 10, 25; *News*, December 12, 20, 1922.

44 Biographical information is undetermined for each signatory, but those identified represent diverse religious affiliations, including at least eight Mormons, and a cross-section of occupations including Harry W. "Hardrock" Lane, owner of the Salt Lake Bees of the Pacific Coast League. At least forty were members of fraternal organizations, five Elks and thirty-five Masons, and four were members of the KKK.

45 Orman W. Ewing, et al. v. Benjamin R. Harries, Case 33048, Third District Court, Salt Lake County, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter Case 33048). It was filed under Ewing—a non-Mormon, Democrat, and New York Life insurance agent—because he is the first signatory on the Complaint. *Salt Lake City Directory 1923* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1923), 321; *Telegram* and *Tribune,* December 24, 1922; *News*, December 25, 1922. The *News* and *Telegram* printed the entire Complaint with the names of the signers.

46 The LDS officials were Fred Clawson, Joseph Christensen, Julius Rockwood, John Shurtleff, bishops; Datus Hammond, Pioneer Stake counselor; and Feramorz Fox and Guy C. Wilson, LDS High School principal and instructor. Benjamin R. Harries Order to Show Cause, December 26 and Subpoena December 27 and 29, 1922, Case 33048.

47 Withdrawals, ibid, 6, 24-47.

48 *Goodwin's Weekly*, July 8, 1916, 9.

49 *Telegram*, December 30, 1922.

50 The plaintiff's lawyers were non-Mormon: Henry C. Allen, Andrew L. Hoppaugh of Dey, Hoppaugh & Mark and E. A. Walton, of Walton and Walton. For the defendant were Daniel Alexander and Barnard and Ralph Stewart, partners in Stewart, Stewart & Alexander; the Stewarts were LDS while Alexander, a member of B'nai B'rith, was Jewish.

51 Harries Affidavit and Motion to Strike and Demurrer, Case 33048; *Telegram* and *Tribune,* December 30–31, 1922. A demurrer is a request for dismissal of a lawsuit because while the alleged facts may be true, there is no legal basis for the pleading because the complaint is incomplete, irrelevant, or invalid.

52 Answer, January 5, and Demurrer, January 20, Case 33048; Register of Actions from December 26, 1922, to May 5, 1925, 548–49, Third District Court; *News* and *Tribune*, January 16, 1923.

53 Amended Complaint, January 23, and Demurrer, February 3, Case 33048; *News*, January 15, 16, 20; *Telegram*, January 20; and *Tribune*, January 15, 16, 21, 1923. The *Tribune* printed the decision in full.

54 Case 33048; Register of Actions; *News*, *Telegram*, and *Tribune*, January 24, February 3–5, and March 24-25, 1923.

55 Benjamin R. Harries v William M. McCrae, Judge of District Court, Case 3963 in W. S. Dalton, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Utah* 62 (Chicago: Callaghan, 1924), 348–62; *Telegram*, March 31 and June 22, 1923; *Tribune*, April 1 and May 23, 1923.

56 *News* and *Tribune*, July 9–10, 1923.

57 *Harries v McCrae* Remittitur, Case 33048; *News*, September 29, 1923; *Telegram* and *Tribune*, September 30, 1923. Associate Justice Joseph E. Frick wrote the opinion, deferring to the views of Chief Justice A. J. Weber and Justices J. W. Cherry, Samuel R. Thurman and Gideon Valentine.

58 Rehearing petition, October 16, 1923; Remittitur, November 23, Case 33048; *Tribune*, November 1, 1923.

59 Amended demurrer, Case 33048; *News* and *Telegram*, November 9, 1923; *Tribune*, November 17, 25 and December 28, 1923.

60 Case 33048, *News* and *Telegram*, January 28; *Tribune*, January 29 and February 17, 1924. The court's actions were reported in the *Improvement Era* 26 (February 1923): 400 and 27 (April 1924): 577.

61 Smith, "Cigarette Prohibition," 368–72.

62 For example, *News*, January 16 and February 9; *Telegram,* January 16; *Tribune,* January 21 and February 24, 1923. Five damages cases were filed in Third District Court from June 9 to August 25, 1923, seven from March 24 to May 19, 1924, and three from September 4 to October 1, 1924.

63 Alexander and Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles*, 164–68.

64 Previously active 1904–1911, the American Party was formed to counter the political influence of the LDS church in Utah, mainly Salt Lake City. For the original party, see Snow, "The American Party in Utah"; for the 1923 revival, see Alexander and Allen, *Mormons & Gentiles*, 142–48. For the KKK, Larry R. Gerlach, *Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1982) and "Battle of Empires: The Klan in Salt Lake City" in *The Invisible in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan*

of the 1920s, edited Shawn Lay (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 121–52.

65 *Tribune*, June 7; *News*, June 9 and November 20, 1924.

66 Chief Justice Albert J. Weber and Associate Justices Valentine Gideon and Thurman were Democrats; Associate Justices James W. Cherry and Joseph E. Frick were Republicans. Charles Carroll Goodwin, ed., *History of the Bench and Bar of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Interstate Press Association 1913), 122, 139, 215; Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Company, 1913), 684; John R. Alley Jr., "Utah State Supreme Court Justice Samuel R. Thurman," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Summer 1993): 233–48; "Valentine Gideon," Prabook, access March 5, 2018, prabook.com/web/person-view.html?profileId=1071055. Similarity between LDS temple and Masonic rituals and the church's opposition to "secret societies" produced antagonism between Mormons and Masons in Utah. From 1925 to 1984 the Grand Lodge of Utah banned Mormon membership. See Mervin B. Hogan, *The Origin and Growth of Utah Masonry and Its Conflict With Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Campus Graphics, 1978).

67 Case 33048, August 14; Supreme Court of Utah Register of Actions, September 22, 1924; Case. 4201, October 4, Supreme Court of Utah, *Abstracts and Briefs*, vol. 339, 13–28; Third District Court Register of Actions, May 5, 1925.

68 The Betterment League endorsed Harries after consulting with SWL leaders including Milton Bennion, Feramorz Fox, Bishop Molten, and Stephen L. Richards. *Tribune,* September 20 and October 1, 3, 1926; *News*, October 30, 1926; *Telegram*, October 31, November 1, 4, 1926. For Patten and the Klan, see Gerlach, *Blazing Crosses in Zion*, 124–26; and "A Battle of Empires," 144–45. For the Sevens, see Hainsworth, "Utah State Elections," 257–65, Appendix II; and Stanford J. Layton, "Governor Charles R. Mabey and the Utah Election of 1924" (MA thesis, University of Utah, 1969), 30–38.

69 *News* and *Tribune*, November 2, 3, 1926. See also Dan E. Jones, "Utah Politics, 1926–32" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 1968), 37–39.

70 *Ewing v. Harries*, Case 4201, in H. A. Rich, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Utah* 68 (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1929), 452–70; *News*, November 8, 1926; *Tribune* and *Telegram*, November 9, 1926.

71 *Ewing v. Harries*, in Rich, *Reports of Cases*, 468.

73 *Ninety-first Annual General Conference Report,* April 1921, 143–44.

74 *Ninety-third Annual Conference Report*, 85–93, published as "Right Relationship Between the Church and the State," *Improvement Era* 26 (June 1923), 679–86.

75 Quinn, *Extensions of Power*, 130, citing Apostle Joseph F. Merrill's diary, June 22, 1933.

76 *Ninety-Ninth Semi-Annual Conference Report*, October 1928, 9; *News*, October 13, 1928. Grant lived at 201 8th Avenue.

77 See Kristen Smart Rogers, "'Another Good Man': Anthony W. Ivins and the Defeat of Reed Smoot," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (Winter 2000): 55–76; and Brian Q. Cannon "Mormons and the New Deal: The 1936 Presidential Election in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (Winter 1999): 4–22.

78 *News*, October 31, 1936.

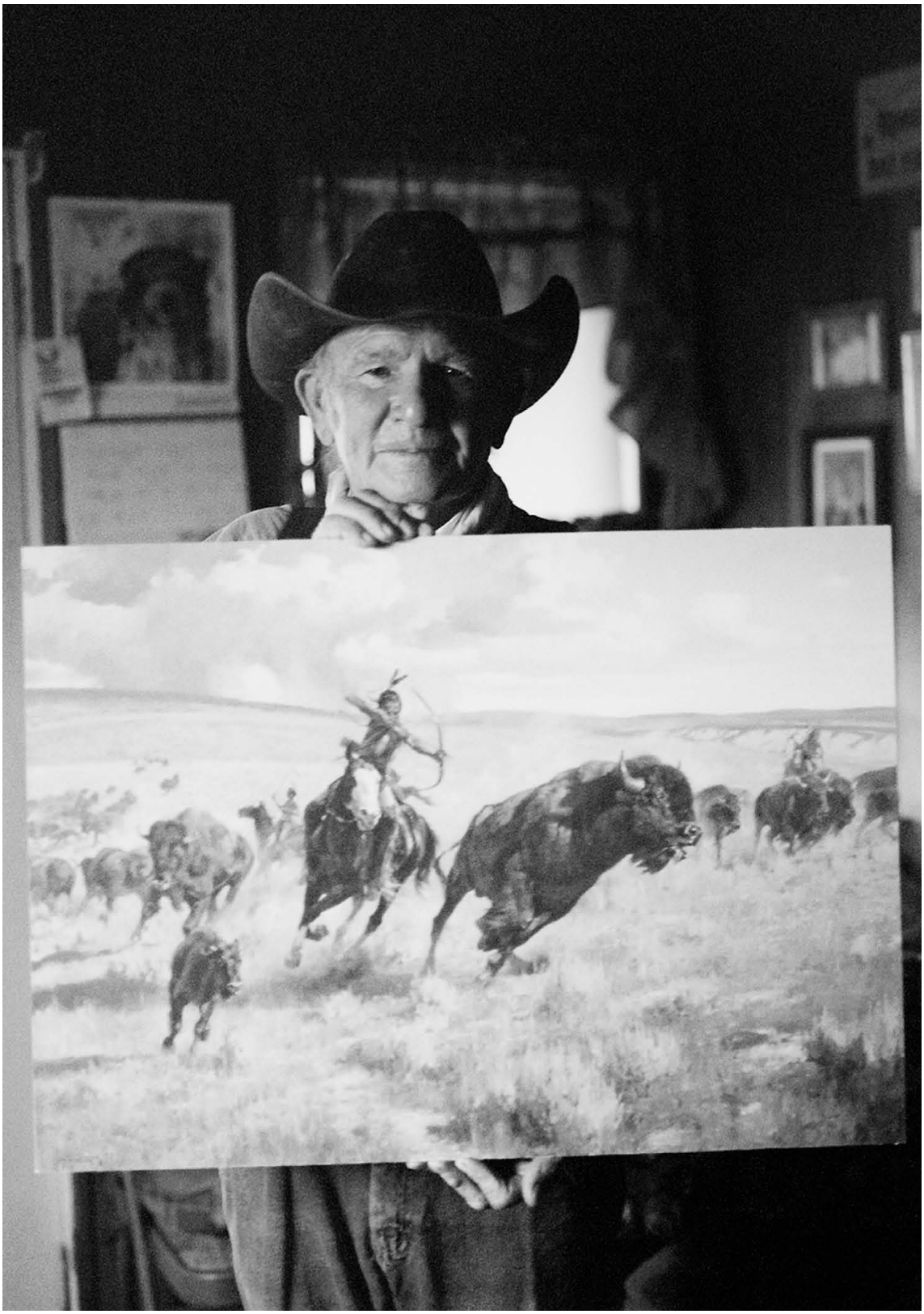
79 Jonas, "UTAH! The Different State," 332; Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints, 525*. Although the Landon endorsement pales in comparison to the Harries campaign, a contemporary *Tribune* columnist thought it "doubtful that the church leadership had ever taken a stronger stand against one candidate and for another, either publicly or within organization ranks, than in the 1936 election." O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971), 331.

80 A major exception occurred in 1950 when the *Deseret News* endorsed Wallace F. Bennett over the incumbent Elbert D. Thomas in the U.S. senate race and when the church's Law Observance and Enforcement Committee distributed an October 26, 1950, letter indicating the church's approved candidates for all offices. The letter, to be read at Sunday Fast Meetings on November 5, two days before the election, urged members wanting "further advice" to "consult your Bishop, who is informed as to those candidates who will definitely support our principles." (Jonas, "UTAH! The Different State," 334; letter copies from Jonas and J. D. Williams in possession of the author.)

81 Wayne K. Hinton and Stephen Roberds, "Public Opinion, Culture and Religion in Utah" in *Utah in the Twentieth Century*, edited Brian Q. Cannon and Jessie L. Embry (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009), 238.

82 See the following essays in Jeffrey E. Sells, ed., *God and Country: Politics in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005): Thomas R. Goldsmith, "The Trouble with Dominant Religions," 171–83; Stephen C. Clark, "'The Only Games in Town': An ACLU Perspective," 267–92; and D. Michael Quinn, "Exporting Utah's Theocracy since 1975: Mormon Organizational Behavior and America's Culture Wars," 129–68. See also Quinn, "A National Force, 1970s–1990s," in *Extensions of Power*, 373–406.

83 For examples of political activity, see Q. Michael Croft, "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945–1985" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 1985). For examples of the ongoing debate on church involvement, see J. D. Williams, "The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Summer 1966): 30–54; Robert M. Frame, "An Uncasual Review of Williams" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Autumn 1966): 192–97; J. D. Williams, "In A Democracy, Church Interference in Politics is Dangerous," *Sunstone* (July/August 1981): 36–46; Edwin Brown Firmage, "A Church Cannot Stand Silent in the Midst of Moral Decay," *Sunstone* (July/August 1981): 46; Gary James Bergera, "The LDS Church and politics," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 2007; and Q. Michael Croft, "There's a long history of LDS entanglement in state politics," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 18, 2007.



A rancher holding a painting of the Wild West based on his horses. This painting won first place in the Utah State Fair many years prior. Elberta, population 256. *Photograph by Christine Armbruster.*

UTAH : 800

CHRISTINE ARMBRUSTER'S PHOTO-ESSAY AND THE CONTINUING DOCUMENTATION OF SMALL-TOWN UTAH

BY JAMES R. SWENSEN

In 2010 the photographer Christine Armbruster began documenting small towns throughout Utah. She was strongly drawn, as she readily admits, to these places and developed a knack for identifying communities with populations of 800 inhabitants or fewer. For the next six years she continually photographed towns like Axtell, Elmo, Holden, and Tabiona. For her, they were more than small dots on a map but places of interest and importance. Eventually her work coalesced into an insightful series of images—a "story" she says—known as *Utah : 800*.

Utah : 800 represents an important update on the photographic documentation of rural Utah. Moreover, it deserves to be seen in connection to the work of Dorothea Lange and other photographers who visited and keenly recorded the unique qualities and characteristics of small towns in Utah. The observations captured by the camera relate strongly to what Howard Bahr calls the Mormon village studies. Nineteenth-century ethnographers visiting Utah Territory and mid-twentieth century academics like Lowry Nelson, Edwin Banfield, and Thomas F. O'Dea probed, studied, and wrote about these places. This essay, which is designed to accompany the print and online exhibition of Armbruster's photographs, seeks to examine her work and to situate it in context. It examines her influences and how her sympathetic photographs of Utah continue an ongoing dialogue of what makes these places unique and of interest to outsiders. Building on the work of others, Armbruster's documentation offers a new and refined sensibility. Her photographs, therefore, provide an opportunity to see these towns and the ways in which their inhabitants live and continue to change.

Christine Armbruster was raised in San Antonio, Texas, and attended Brigham Young University in Provo, "the smallest town" in which she has ever lived.[1] During her studies in photography, she enjoyed opportunities to travel the world, documenting foreign lands and cultures that were not her own. She worked in Russia, Bosnia, and, with a poor but proud female butcher, in the Dominican Republic. The work was

good, yet a photography professor challenged and encouraged her to focus on subject matter closer to what she already knew. At this critical junction in her development as a photographer, she was also exposed to Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams's insightful 1953 series titled *Three Mormon Towns* that was on display at BYU's Museum of Art.[2] During her studies, Armbruster also learned from Walker Evans, a peer of Adams and Lange, whose eye for composition clearly impacted her work. The social consciousness of *National Geographic*'s Aaron Huey was also influential. Together these influences compelled her to begin her own investigation, traveling the back roads of Utah in search of worlds closer to home.

Small towns quickly fascinated Armbruster and she increasingly extended the circumference of her travels from Provo. Even though this project began as a series of short road trips, she returned again and again to certain towns to prove that she was more than a typical passerby. To accomplish this she realized that she needed to slow down to know her subjects and to secure their trust. This is not easily done. People in small towns may have a deeply rooted right to be wary of those outside their closely-knit communities. As Lange and Adams learned decades ago, they can also be even more suspicious of those toting cameras. Most subjects know that they have no control over where a photograph is seen and how it is interpreted, which makes it easy to distrust the intentions of a photographer. No community wants to be made into a curiosity or oddity. This is particularly true in Utah where its citizens have a long, and in many cases warranted, belief that they have been disadvantaged and ridiculed by outsiders through photography and other media.

While not always successful, Armbruster was frequently able to bypass some of these obstacles. "The hardest part is getting inside these towns," she admits, "and finding people to get to know and let you into their world." Through her unassuming nature and quick smile, she was often able to gain access into the community. She was shown around town, spent time in cafés and local hangouts, and was invited to Boy Scout spaghetti dinners. Most importantly, through her efforts, she was invited into people's homes and into their lives. From these experiences, she learned, like others before her, that no two towns are alike and that "each has a different feeling."[3]

In the past observers frequently noted that small towns in Utah were different from other communities in the American West. As Lowry Nelson and others have pointed out, they are distinct in nature and have a look and a history that is unique in the American West.[4] Loosely based on Joseph Smith's 1833 planned settlement known as the "Plat of Zion," and directed by Brigham Young after the arrival of Mormon migrants in 1847, the towns, villages, and hamlets that formed in the Deseret West took on a familiar pattern. This pattern included, among other attributes, an overarching grid system with wide streets, a sturdy ward chapel in the center of the community, and homes clustered together and separated from their fields. The geographer Richard Francaviglia referred to these features as the visual characteristics of the "Mormon landscape."[5]

Early travelers to the Intermountain West repeatedly observed the distinctive patterns of Utah's towns. Visitors frequently commented on the details and nature of Mormon settlements, which they saw as productive, fertile, homogeneous, and, in time, great in number.[6] In his popular guidebook in 1888 George Crofutt professed that "life is too short to describe them all—and as the description of *one* is the same for *all,* with seldom an exception."

> They are *invariably* located on some stream near the base of the mountains where the water can be turned into canals and ditches to be conducted through the streets. . . . Every residence is in the midst of its fruit orchard and garden spot. . . . Each place has its meeting-house and schools, presided over by a bishop, who exercises a general supervision over their people's spiritual welfare. . . . With few exceptions the people are all engaged in agricultural, horticultural, lumbering, and raising cattle, sheep and horses.[7]

Indeed, Mormondom's familiar patterns observed by Crofutt and his peers persisted into the next century.

Utah's preserved towns maintained their distinctive nature and eventually caught the attention of historians, social scientists, and geographers. They were interested in describing the details of the Mormon village and trying to capture its tone or spirit.[8] Nelson's *The Mormon Village* (1952) was one of a number of investigations into rural Mormon communities, which eventually attracted other scholars such as Nels Anderson, Thomas O'Dea, Edwin Banfield, D. W. Meinig, and Wallace Stegner. Later scholars like Howard Bahr, Todd Goodsell, and Paul Starrs continued this tradition into the twenty-first century

While not as well known or studied, photographers also played an important role in documenting life in Utah's towns. Similar to the work of scholars, photographers focused attention on Mormonism and its visual markers. For them the concern was to document the Mormon West. This is visible in an early example from A. J. Russell who documented the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad in the late 1860s. His 1869 photograph, *Mormon Family*, features what appears to be a polygamous household in a fairly desolate landscape (Illustration 1). Later reproduced as a woodblock print and published in wide-ranging texts, Russell's image continued to pique the curiosity of eastern audiences well after it was taken.

Decades later, during the Great Depression, two photographers in particular created significant visual records of rural Utah. Working under the aegis of the New Deal's Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration, Dorothea Lange and Russell Lee spent several weeks in Utah, ranging from Mendon to Santa Clara, Consumers to Tremonton.[9] Lange's travels in early spring 1936 were influenced personally and professionally by her close friendships with Nelson, Banfield, Juanita Brooks, and others. These influences became particularly important when she returned in 1953 with Ansel Adams to create a series for *Life* magazine, which became known as *Three Mormon Towns*.[10] Lee, an assiduous visual chronicler, arrived in 1940 and created an extensive document of Mormon life and cooperation.[11]

For Lange and Lee Mormonism played an oversized role in their representation. They always

Illustration 1. Mormon Family, Great Salt Lake Valley, 1869. *Photograph by A. J. Russell. Courtesy New York Public Library.*

labeled the people they photographed throughout the state as Mormon. Furthermore, when Russell Lee made his documentation of Utah in the end of the Depression he worked his way outward from the ward house and church services (Illustration 2) . Some of this emphasis was a matter of logistics. For example, before Lange conducted research in the "three" Mormon towns of Gunlock, Toquerville, and St. George she asked permission from Elder J. Reuben Clark at Church Headquarters in Salt Lake City, which he reluctantly gave.

When Armbruster began her work in some of the same towns in which Lee and Lange worked, she had neither similar concerns nor the same constraints. By 2010 Mormonism was much more of a known commodity and its practices and scope were no longer confined to the Intermountain West. Whereas at mid-century Thomas O'Dea characterized Utah as a "foreign-land-gone-American," by the end of the twentieth century the LDS church was probably closer to mainstream America than at any other point in its history.[12]

Armbruster purposely did not follow the same pattern as other documentarians. Her work does not feature chapels or other visual reminders of the dominant religion and culture of most small towns in Utah. It is not as if they are not there; as any visitor will tell you, they are still present. As Starrs observed, the ever-present, standard-plan ward house is still a central feature of small, rural communities throughout Utah and the surrounding states.[13] Importantly, Armbruster was cognizant of this omission in *Utah : 800*. According to the photographer,

> I realize that Mormonism was a very big part of the history of these towns and that it was an important theme in previous works on small towns across Utah. I feel like a lot of the time these small towns are stereotyped, as much of Utah is put into a big religious stereotype. I didn't really want to explore this, I feel like it was quite redundant and easy to point out. I wanted to see these towns from a different perspective. I didn't approach them with any idea what I would find, often just pulling my car off the side of the road and walking around.[14]

Illustration 2. Mormon Church on Sunday morning, Mendon, Utah, July 1940. *Photograph by Russell Lee. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USF33-012867.*

She continues,

> I wanted a natural approach and not to bring any ideas or themes to the towns. Of course, religion is there and that is an angle that could have been taken. But I was more interested in the individuals, and though religion is part of a person, I wanted them to bring it up if they wanted, I didn't want to be that voice and push that theme. In a way I wanted it to be relatable to anyone, and not a "them vs. us" approach.

All documentations are subjective, and photographers always edit what they want their viewers to see. While *Utah : 800* may or may not corroborate one's preconceived conceptions, Armbruster's "natural approach" enabled her to see and record these communities in a different light. Working beyond "the church" represented an important break from past documentations and provided the photographer the freedom to document whatever she found of interest visually and culturally. It allowed this series to go beyond the traditional binaries that characterized earlier documentations. When successful, it was no longer merely insider and outsider, Mormon and non-Mormon, or "them vs. us."

Searching out towns with populations of 800 or less also yielded other results. Although somewhat arbitrary, her selection process opened the possibility of encountering a variety of Utah towns. Not all the places where Armbruster worked were established as Mormon communities. The old mining town of Eureka never conformed to the agrarian, village-model of Mormon-settled towns. In hilly terrains, where mining towns tended to be built, the streets were narrower and an emphasis on order more difficult to obtain than was possible in the valley towns settled by Mormons. Whereas in 1920 Eureka hit a peak population of approximately 3,600 residents, by 2010 its population had declined to 669. The demographic changes and the mining character of the town are evident in Armbruster's photographs. As her photograph of three men drinking coffee in a late afternoon blizzard in Eureka may attest, mining towns continue to have a look and feel that differs from other Utah towns (Figure 1).

In many ways Armbruster's work may conform to what those from outside rural communities would expect to see. She recorded details of ranch and farm life, including landscapes with barbed-wire fences and metallic silos. She attended and photographed local rodeos, key events when these towns are on full display. Hunting and gun culture are also present. She took pictures of boys enjoying an afternoon shooting clay pigeons and a home filled with guns and stickers stating: "Kick Brass" and "Gun Control: Means using both hands."

Armbruster's "natural approach," however, found much that may not be as expected or as easily stereotyped. In the late summer of 2015, she photographed Charlie Strebel in a local family-owned cafe one day shy of him turning seventy-two. In one photograph he teaches a young woman how to properly hold her new compound bow under a sign reading "Good Food, Good Friends, Good Times." A second, more intimate photograph shows Strebel in a cowboy hat facing the photographer at eye level and drinking a Mountain Dew. A copy of the *Salt Lake Tribune* is nearby (Figure 3). While the first photograph may not seem out of character for an urban observer, the second demonstrates that rural Utahans' experiences may be more similar than previously expected.

Indeed, one of the most important aspects of Armbruster's series is how change has affected these communities and how interconnected they are with the outside world. As early as the 1930s the writers of Dale Morgan's WPA guide to the state observed that much "of that pioneer distinctiveness survives in Utah life, although forces of twentieth century civilization have shaped Utah into patterns of conformance."[15] Twenty years later, Lange and Adams feared that these new patterns were affecting and altering small-town Utah. Lange lamented: "St. George becomes a highway town. Raucous, paved, treeless, harsh competitor, garish imitator of all the others. Its history buried. Its tradition silenced."[16]

Armbruster's series does not contain the same pessimism. Her view is not about loss but about an interconnected world brought on by sweeping changes in commerce, transportation, and lifestyle, which have taken place all across the

Illustration 3. A couple, both eighty-five years old, posing in their Sunday clothes in Escalante, Utah, April 1936. Both were converts to Mormonism from South Africa. She was the first schoolteacher in Escalante. *Photograph by Dorothea Lange. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USF34-001343.*

United States. This may be seen in her 2013 photograph of a couple in Escalante looking at her camera with a mixture of curiosity and sympathy (Figure 2). Decades earlier Lange had recorded an Escalante couple posing in front of the church with the same look in their eyes (Illustration 3). According to Lange's caption, both subjects were 85 years old dressed in their "Sunday clothes." They lived, as Lange also noted, in one of the most isolated places in the nation.[17] In profound ways, their insular world seems a distant memory when compared to the couple sitting in their red SUV. He drinks Diet Coke; she drinks Pepsi. She wears a Mickey Mouse sweatshirt from Hawaii, while he wears a baseball cap from IFA, the Intermountain Farmer's Association. They could be from anywhere in the West or, in reality, from anywhere in the United States.

Other photographs reveal even further changes. As one of the fastest growing states in the nation, migration has and will continue to affect the homogeneous nature of Utah. That growth is centered in the state's urban centers; the state's non-urban population is dropping. According to the 2010 U.S. census, only 9.4 percent of Utahns lived in rural communities, the lowest in its history.[18] Yet, as reported by *Newsweek* in 2017, "some" small towns in Utah and seven other states experienced moderate growth, contradicting national trends.[19] While outward migration continues to affect small-towns beyond the Wasatch Front, it offers opportunities for others. In this regard, the most telling of Armbruster's photographs might be the portrait of an Indian woman wearing a red sweater with lines that echo the pick-up window through which she looks straightforwardly at the viewer (Figure 4). The percentage of minorities in the state's rural communities has historically been low, but this woman signifies that this too is bound to change, even if slowly. Clearly the future will bring new faces and new names to Utah's small towns.

In Armbruster's work there is an interesting balance between the past and present. Put another way, in her photographs a modern present and a pioneer past are frequently in

juxtaposition. This is evident in a photograph she made in Snowville (Figure 5). In the dwindling, evening light a stack of hay efficiently bundled by state-of-the-art machines stands in contrast to a decaying wooden structure from the past.

This balance also plays out in her photographs of old and young members of these communities. Historically Utah has always been known for its fecundity. Early visitors frequently commented on the abundance of children in Utah's hamlets. Children, in fact, were considered "Utah's Finest Crop." This has not changed in the twenty-first century. In 2017 Utah again was the youngest state in the Union with a median age of 29.5. Youthful faces are found in Armbruster's treatment such as the tender photograph of a boy receiving a "pep talk" before he competes in the Randolph rodeo in the summer of 2016 (Figure 6). This is also true of her image of Dylan, a resident of Axtell, who helped his mother fix a fence in a Fox Racing cap and t-shirt. His mother, the photographer recorded, has lived all over the world but insists that there is nothing better for a young man than "completing farm chores every day."

In spite of the emphasis on youth, *Utah : 800* also reminds viewers of the ways in which these towns and their inhabitants are aging. In Eureka a long-time resident named Billy took her through every abandoned building on main street and told her stories of what these places once were. Rather than focus solely on decay or loss, however, Armbruster wisely calls attention to the strengths of these individuals. Her work finds resonance with photographers of the past, namely Dorothea Lange who was expert at showing character through smaller, less conspicuous details like hands or subtle gestures. This may be best illustrated in Armbruster's photograph of Bonnie Layman who was born and raised in Holden (Figure 7). When the photographer met Layman she was going off to toil in her garden. Instead of focusing on the subject's face, Armbruster points to her aged yet strong arms and hands, which have experienced years of work.

Almost 150 miles away, she photographed Dott Young, the oldest resident of Wanship. When visiting Young in her home, Armbruster made two photographs. The first shows the older woman sitting comfortably in an armchair covered by a crocheted cover (Figure 8). In many ways this photograph is a careful play of color and patterns. A second photograph reveals more about this woman and her life. Astutely Armbruster turned her camera in the opposite direction, enabling the viewer to see what Young sees (Figure 9). In addition to the older woman's reflection in the television screen, we are invited to see the portraits of sons who served in the military hanging proudly on wood-paneled walls, humble Christmas decorations decorating the hearth, books (including texts on the frontier and the American West), assorted trinkets, VHS cassettes, and children's coloring books. These small details reveal a life lived just as well as the woman's aged face and gray hair. When asked about Wanship, Young quickly replied, "Well it is the best place in the entire world. Why would I not live here?"[20]

In Fayette, Armbruster met Sheree, the manager of the Warm Creek Ranch House restaurant, who is known for being friendly and warm to outsiders.[21] In her photograph Armbruster illustrated Sheree navigating a former stranger through a family photo album. Evident in this photograph is the local wisdom that comes with age and experience. Not only did the manager detail generations of her family that have resided in the town, but she also told her own history. "She has been driving since she was seven," Armbruster noted, "and she knows all the best hot springs in the area."

There is a certain amount of nostalgia in returning to and examining a photo album with images from the past. Armbruster's account is not without certain romanticism for better days. The past, whether real or imagined, will always maintain a strong pull. In one of her finer photographs, Armbruster recorded a pleasant-looking rancher from Elberta proudly displaying a painting of Native American warriors on horseback dramatically hunting buffalo. The horses, the man told Armbruster, were based on his own livestock. That might be the only physical connection to this town of 256 residents located just south of Utah Lake. The painting is not of Elberta or Utah; it is an image of a different place and a different time when Native Americans hunted unlimited numbers of buffalo with bow and arrow. It has been nearly two centuries since bison roamed

Utah and more than a century since they were nearly annihilated from the Plains. Native warriors, likewise, are typically seen as symbols of a wild western frontier. Fittingly, they have become a metaphor for a bygone past and more than a western cliché.[22] Tellingly, the rancher literally holds on to a Charlie-Russell-like vision of a seemingly better and more exciting time. It is an example of what Thomas and Geraldine Vale called the "Cowboy West," which celebrates a cowboy identity while crowding out other "Wests," including a Mormon West.[23] Indeed, as with other examples in Armbruster's series, this photograph has few direct ties to Utah and might have been taken anywhere in the American West.

In conclusion, Christine Armbruster's series of small, Utah towns deserves to be seen and presented as another chapter in the tradition of understanding and representing the Mormon village. In 1952 Lowry Nelson wisely observed that "The next century will bring its changes and it is safe to predict that they will mean the further advance of village life in the direction of greater complexity, more impersonality, greater dependence upon and interest in the national and world communities, greater sophistication, further loss of its agrarian character, both occupational and ideological."[24] In important ways Armbruster's series corroborates Nelson's statement. It demonstrates that Utah towns and villages have changed in important ways. There is more impersonality to be found in these communities. They are more dependent on the outside world and Nelson could not have predicted how technologies like the Internet and smart phones would connect them to the world. It could even be argued that they have, in fact, lost much of their agrarian character. Yet her photographs also reveal a greater complexity and an inner beauty that was gleaned through keen observation, a strong photographic eye, and a desire to know more about small towns across Utah.

ARTIST STATEMENT AND PHOTOGRAPH GALLERY

By Christine Armbruster

While obtaining my Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from Brigham Young University, I spent a lot of my time running away—first finding a need to get out of Provo, then Utah, and eventually the United States. My flights resulted in a myriad of adventures, stories, and long road trips. It was during these long drives that I consistently ran into small Utah towns, each consisting of a corner store, a post office, and the occasional child racing down the street. One after another I saw the patterns as I slowed down to 30 mph to watch the old signs and shops crawl past my window. Eventually, I fell in love with these towns, finding myself stopping in them more frequently, foregoing my final destination. I wanted to know more about their history, their stories, and their people. Thus, this project began.

Driving through Utah, it is hard *not* to pass through small towns. I drove nearly every weekend collecting images and recording stories. During my travels, I have become a master guesser of populations. Like a child guessing how many candies are in a jar, I can drive into any small town and know, more or less, its population. For almost eight years I have driven across Utah, seeking out these places. I am especially fascinated by the smallest ones, towns with populations of 800 people or fewer.

Temporarily quenching my wanderlust, these towns made me feel as if I was a thousand miles away, when in reality I was only an hour's drive from home. It expanded my ability to go out of my comfort zone, to wander with purpose, and to be patient while people told me their life stories. These experiences helped me realize that each one of these towns has its own unique soul once you look and ask. Even now after moving away, I find myself coming back to small-town Utah to look for population signs again.

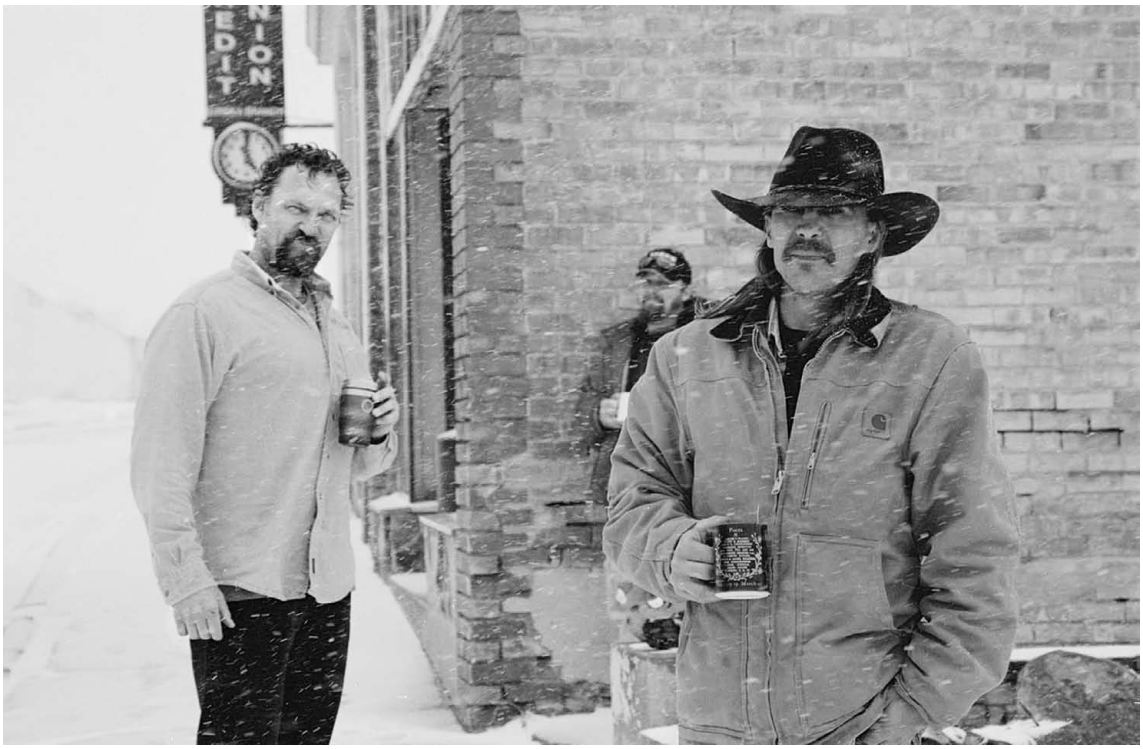


Figure 1. Three men out for a cup of coffee during a blizzard. Eureka, population 766. Winter 2010.

Figure 2. A couple sit in their car enjoying Diet Coke, Pepsi and a view after dumping yard waste outside of town. Escalante, population 793. October 2013.

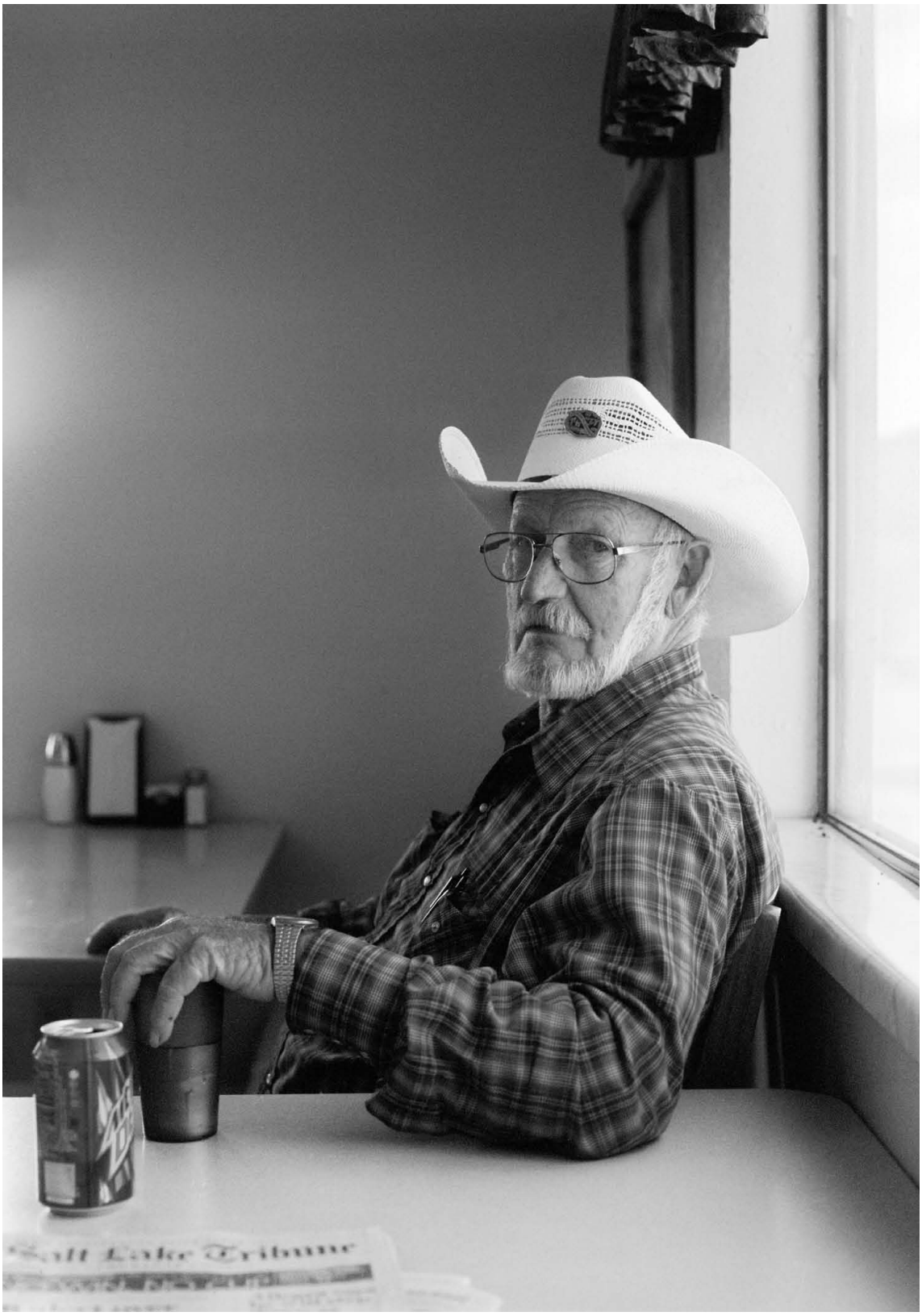


Figure 3. Charlie Strebel the day before he turned 72, sitting in his cafe, Sagebrush Inn, which doubles as a grocery store and inn. Tabiona, population 184. August 2015.

Figure 4. An immigrant to Mona years prior. She works at the only place to dine in Mona, a burger stand where she stands in the pickup window.

Figure 5. Snowville, the northern-most small town on I-84. Population 170.

Figure 6. Pep talk before his event in the rodeo. Randolph, population 462. June 2016.

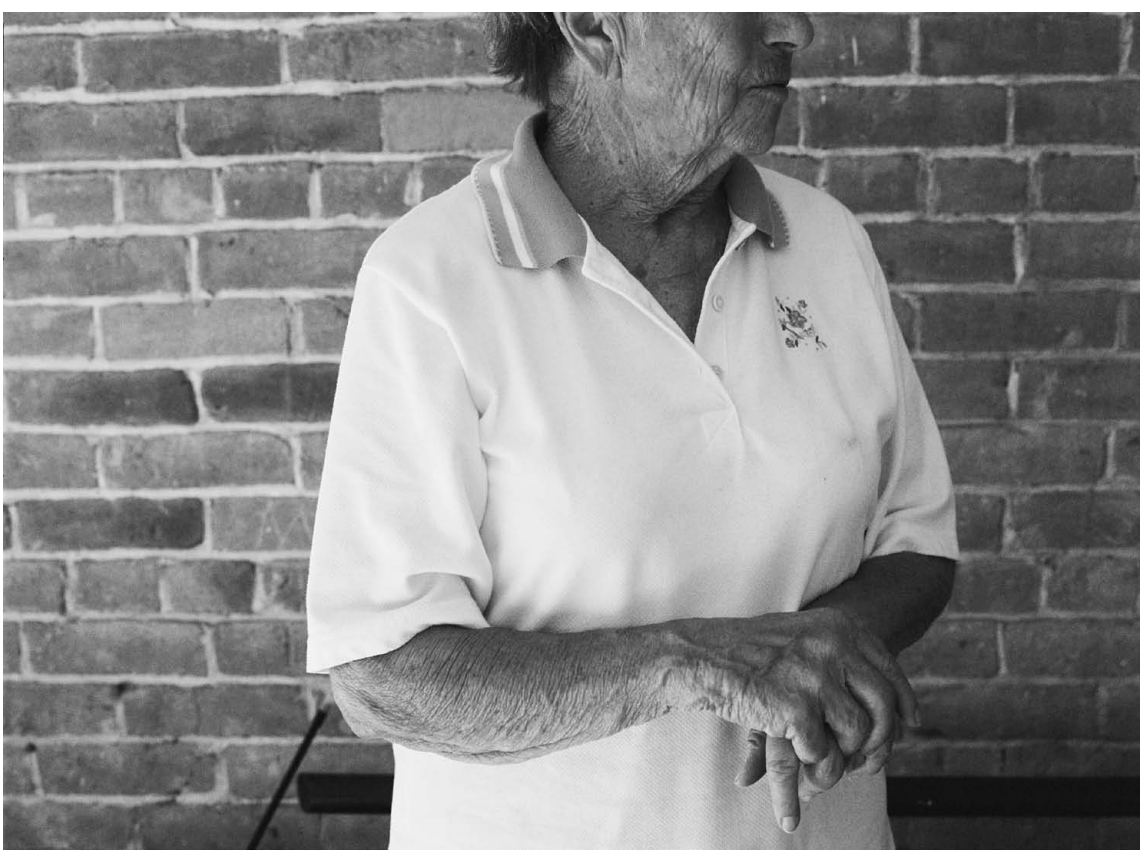


Figure 7. Born and raised in Holden, Bonnie Layman prepares to work in her garden. She now lives in warmer weather in the winter, but still calls Holden home all summer. Holden, population 377. Spring 2016.

Figure 8. Dott Young, the oldest member in Wanship, population 400. December 2014.

Figure 9. Interior of Dott Young's home, Wanship, population 400. December 2014.

Web Extra

For a link to the complete online portfolio of Armbruster's documentation of small-town Utah, visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras.

Notes

1 Christine Armbruster interview with the author, February 17, 2017. Transcription in possession of the author.
2 The exhibition, *Dorothea Lange's Three Mormon Towns*, was adroitly curated by Diana Turnbow and was on display in Brigham Young University's Museum of Art from January 21 to April 31, 2011.
3 Armbruster interview.
4 Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 3, 28, 277.
5 Richard Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1978), 59.
6 See Howard M. Bahr, *Saints Observed: Studies of Mormon Village Life, 1850–2005* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014), 53–60; Richard Burton, *City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 149–56.
7 George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Overland Tours, Consisting of Nearly Five Thousand Miles of Main Tours, and Three Thousand Miles of Side Tours* (Chicago: Arthur H. Day & Co., 1888), 69.
8 Bahr, *Saints Observed*, 60.
9 For more on the FSA photographers in Utah, see Brian Cannon, *Life and Land: The Farm Security Administration Photographers in Utah* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1988). See also James R. Swensen "Dorothea Lange's Portrait of Utah's Great Depression," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Winter 2002): 39–62; James R. Swensen, "Passing Through: Arthur Rothstein's Photographic Account of Utah, March 1940" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 74 (Winter 2006): 66–79.
10 See James R. Swensen, *In a Rugged Land: Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange and the* Three Mormon Towns *Collaboration, 1953–1954* (Forthcoming University of Utah Press).
11 Brian Cannon, *Life and Land: The Farm Security Administration Photographers in Utah,* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1988), 4.
12 Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 238; Maurine Whipple, *This is the Place: Utah* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 176. For a more recent characterization of the Mormon reputation, see Kirk Johnson, "Mormons on a Mission," *New York Times*, August 20, 2010.
13 Paul F. Starrs, "Meetinghouses in the Mormon Mind: Ideology, Architecture, and Turbulent Streams of an Expanding Church," *Geographical Review* 99 (July 2009): 335.
14 Christine Armbruster, email conversation with author, October 5, 2017.
15 Writers' Program (WPA), *Utah: A Guide to the State* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), 3.
16 Dorothea Lange, *Field Notes*, Dorothea Lange Archive, Oakland Museum of California, Oakland, California.
17 Swensen, "Dorothea Lange's Portrait of Utah's Great Depression," 57–58.
18 In 1990 rural populations in Utah constituted 13.2 percent of the state's overall population. This number dropped to 11.8 percent in 2000 and to 9.4 percent in 2010.
19 Cristina Silva, "Where People Live in the U.S.: America Sees Unexpected Population Growth in Some Small Towns," *Newsweek*, July 6, 2017, available at newsweek.com/small-towns-trends-us-demographics-633018.
20 Christine Armbruster, thepicta.me/tag/population800, accessed October, 5, 2017.
21 See tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g56984-d6787118-r217808381-Warm_Creek_Ranch_House-Fayette_Utah.html, accessed January 1, 2018.
22 Thayer Tolles, "Preserved in Bronze: The West's Vanishing Wildlife," in *The American West in Bronze: 1850–1925* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 69.
23 See Thomas R. Vale and Geraldine R. Vale, *Western Images, Western Landscapes: Travels along U.S. 89* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 74, 88.
24 Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, 284–85.

Emma Green Bull's "crazy quilt," one of 31,000 artifacts held by the Utah State Historical Society. The quilt reflects themes and symbols familiar to the creator. *Photograph by Chase Roberts.*

CRAZY QUILT:
MATERIAL OBJECTS AS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY MEGAN WEISS

In the basement of the Rio Grande Depot housed alongside the manuscript and photograph collections of the Utah State Historical Society (USHS) is an artifact collection of over 31,000 historical items. After a five-year inventory and reconciliation project, these items have been aligned with their appropriate provenance and have been uploaded to a searchable catalog accessed through the Utah State History library and collections website. As one of the curators responsible for cataloging the artifacts over a multi-year period, I highlight here a specific item in the collection that suggests the oft-connection between material object and autobiography. This object, the collection, and material culture more generally present compelling questions for researchers, scholars, and educators of material culture and women's history.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, 300th Anniversary University Professor Emerita at Harvard and member of the USHS artifacts collection review team, has shown that in the right interpretive hands material culture offers a fruitful historical source. For Ulrich, textiles and household items are as important in filling in the "gaps" of social and women's history as the written word. In the essay "Of Pens and Needles: Sources in Early American Women's History," she argued that "sophisticated source criticism invites us to turn the problem of documentation on its head, taking the supposed paucity of evidence as a fruitful point of inquiry rather than as a damper to research." Stitchery, quilts, furniture, diaries, and other ordinary objects offer unconventional means of gaining insight into "class divisions, education, technology and commerce, family relations, attitudes toward the body, work and leisure, marriage and death."[1] Furthermore, as the historian Alan Taylor noted in a review of *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth,* Ulrich showed how "through the transmission of names and objects women created lineages that sometimes paralleled, but often crosscut, the more conspicuous and official patrilineal system."[2] In Ulrich's work, material culture holds a certain power that runs parallel to the written word as source material, especially when considering the generational connections between women. Everyday

objects are glimpses into the past that empower the telling of women's stories that may have previously gone unnoticed or unstudied.

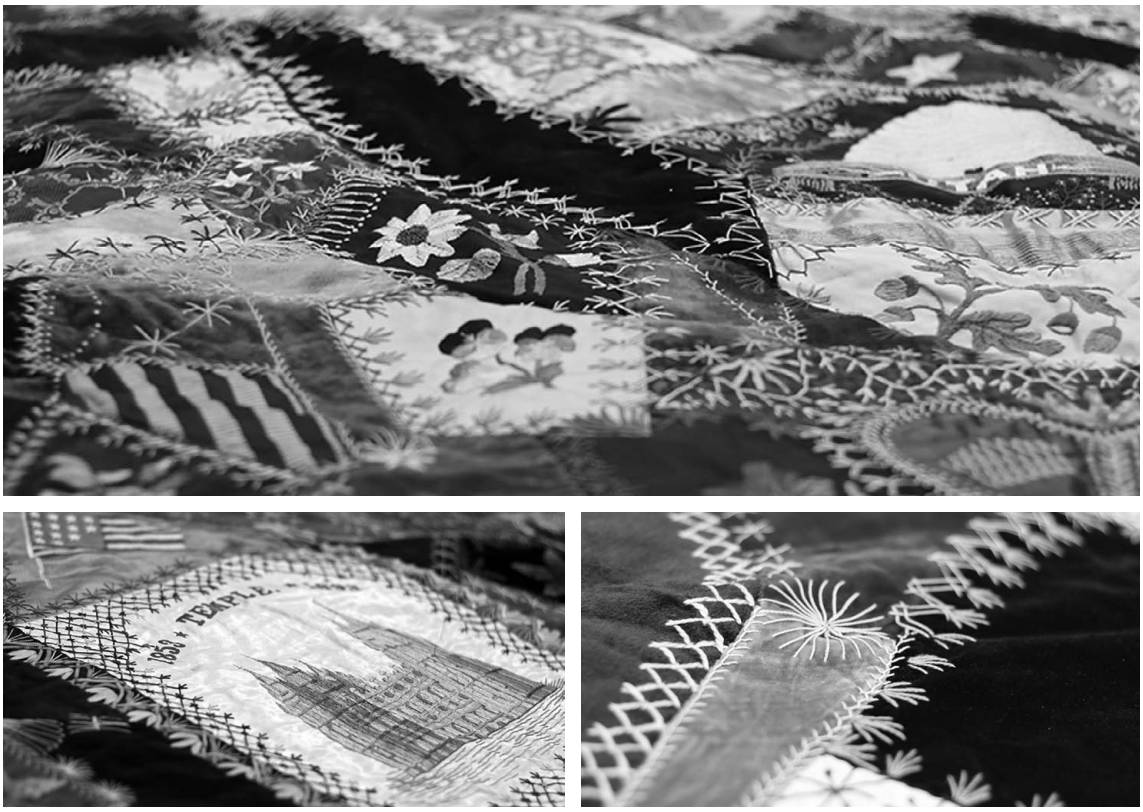
Perhaps unsurprisingly, these themes of historical inquiry also arise when applied to the USHS's own collection of historical artifacts. Consider a quilt in the collection created by the actress, seamstress, and Mormon pioneer Emma Green Bull in 1893. An intricate and unique piece made of randomly shaped fabrics from velvet to brocade and elaborately detailed embroidery, this "crazy quilt" represents a style fairly common in the late nineteenth century. Initially inspired by Japanese asymmetrical art, the first "crazy quilts" appeared at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia and were subsequently appropriated by women elsewhere in the country, including Utah Territory.[3] Wealthy women displayed them as symbols of luxury and class. Not only were they a way to use scraps of valuable fabrics, the intricate herringbone and feather embroidery techniques required hours of labor and implied to the viewer that the quilter enjoyed a wealth of free time and great expertise.[4] Crazy quilts often incorporated common symbols: a natural "fairyland" theme of flowers, butterflies, and birds, or the spiderweb, a symbol of good luck. The most important symbols of crazy quilts, however, are those that are unique to the maker and tell a story of their life.

Emma Green Bull's "crazy quilt," one of 31,000 artifacts held by the Utah State Historical Society. The quilt reflects themes and symbols familiar to the creator. *Photograph by Chase Roberts.*

Emma Bull's quilt combined many of these common themes alongside visual representations of her life as a Mormon pioneer woman. Created for display at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition Women's Building, Bull revealed her identity as an immigrant from England with symbols: the British Union Jack, a gold harp, an anchor. Bull was the only member of her family to leave England for Utah; her solo journey on the *Jersey* in 1853 marked a transition from an English woman to a Mormon Utah pioneer.[5] Once in Utah, Emma married Joseph Bull in 1854 and raised three children. For a time she acted for the Dramatic Association at Salt Lake's Social Hall. Primarily, though, she was a seamstress, and the crazy quilt's elaborate herringbone and feather embroidery reflect her elevated skill with her craft.

In the quilt, Bull's inclusion of Utah's natural landscape in the stitching of local flora such as the sego lily speak to her adapted sense of place. She also incorporated symbols to represent her pride as a Utah resident: the skep beehive, LDS Temple, and Eagle Gate. Especially interesting is a detailed embroidery panel reading "HOME – 1847" and depicting a log cabin. It is unclear if this is a depiction of Bull's own log cabin, built in 1847, or if it is a representation of the collective pioneer experience symbolized in the Duel cabin, still standing on West Temple. Another compelling symbol embroidered in the quilt is that of the mason's tool, perhaps signaling to earlier ties between the LDS church and Stonemasons society or to her own family's connection to the masonry craft. Other elements of this detailed quilt that remain to be solved are the "1847 Pioneer Press" embroidery and the dancing deer. Perhaps connection to a local business or an older English family crest could explain the inclusion of these elements.

After being exhibited in 1893, Bull's crazy quilt came to the state historical society as an early



Details from Emma Green Bull's crazy quilt. *Photographs by Todd Anderson.*

acquisition sometime before 1960. For scholars and other observers, Bull's quilt provides insight into the development of innovative textile crafts, millenarian religions, and migration trends. It is an example of an unconventional historical source that with some source criticism reveals insight into the history of textile crafting and folk art, nineteenth-century wealth and leisure, and Utah pioneer women. Similar to other autobiographical sources like a journal, this crazy quilt offers a "microhistory," a historical frame that in the words of John Tosh "fills out in small-scale and human detail some of the social and cultural features that are otherwise known only as generalizations."[6]

Annette Weiner observed that history can be "concentrated in an object that, in its material substance, defies destruction. . . . [K]eeping an object defined as inalienable adds to the value of one's past, making the past a powerful resource for the present and the future."[7] As a source of historical understanding, artifacts are indispensable. Even when stripped of their temporal context, historic artifacts tell their own story and hold their own meaning—tangible traces of our communal connection to the past. The historical society is proud to house a rich and varied collection of artifacts.

Notes

1 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Of Pens and Needles: Sources in Early American Women's History," *Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (1990): 202, 205.
2 Alan Taylor, "Threads of History: Review of *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich," *New Republic* 226, no. 8/9 (2002): 41.
3 Beverly Gordon, "A Fairyland of Fabrics: The Victorian Crazy Quilt," The International Quilt Study Center & Museum, University of Nebraska, accessed February 14, 2018, http://www.quiltstudy.org/exhibitions/online_exhibitions/Fairyland/.
4 These observations come from Darcy Damstedt, a certified AQS Appraiser since 2008 who reviewed the Bull quilt in August 2015.
5 Orson Ferguson Whitney, *History of Utah*, Vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1904), 345.
6 John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 5th ed. (Dorchester: Pearson Education Limited, 2010), 82.
7 Annette Weiner, "Inalienable Wealth," *American Ethnologist* 12, no. 2 (1985): 227.

Race and the Making of the Mormon People

By Max Perry Mueller

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. xii + 333 pp. Paper, $32.50

Max Perry Mueller, a professor of Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska, brings a new perspective to the much written upon topic of Mormonism and race through the pages of his *Race and the Making of the Mormon People*. Mueller's volume focuses on the Book of Mormon's impact on emerging Latter-day Saint racial attitudes, asserting that Mormonism's foundational scripture shaped how white Mormons perceived themselves as a distinct ethnic group while defining the status of the non-whites in their midst. The Book of Mormon "presented a theology of . . . 'white universalism'" whereby "humanity . . . would be restored to the original white human family" (34). During the 1830s, Mormon preaching to Indians living along the Missouri frontier represented an early effort to fulfill the Book of Mormon prophecy that the Lamanites would convert to Mormonism and be literally transformed into "a white and delightsome people."

But, as Mueller argues, the Book of Mormon's "'white universalism' proved too ambitious to be tolerated in antebellum America," with the fledgling Latter-day Saint movement "quickly adapting" to the prevailing "racial hierarchies of the American Republic," becoming not just "mainstream [but] extreme in their [racial] views" (20). This represented "a downward trend away from racially inclusive originalism to racial particularism." Complicating this process was the contradictory fact of "the Mormon people's identity [as] a missionary people divinely called to teach the gospel to everyone everywhere" while concurrently identifying themselves as a "racially particularistic people"—indeed the literal descendants of the House of Ephraim, thus most favored by God (21).

Such racial concepts as they affected blacks and Native Americans form the core of the volume's narrative. Mueller seeks to "demonstrate how these nonwhite Mormons resisted, acquiesced, and sometimes embraced the racialized theologies of Mormonism" (11). African American Mormon Jane Manning James receives particular attention. James's photograph, in fact, adorns the cover. Mueller asserts that James's troubled LDS odyssey demonstrates the declining status of Mormon blacks from the 1840s, when she first joined the church, to the time of her death in 1908. Such declension is evident in the stark fact that this staunchly devout black Latter-day Saint, who enigmatically proclaimed, "I am white with the exception of the color of my skin," was repeatedly denied the sacred temple ordinances she so earnestly sought.

Representative of Native Americans who associated with the Mormons were two noteworthy individuals. One was the Ute Indian leader, Walkara, whose relationship with his LDS neighbors alternated between war and peace. The second, "Sally the Lamanite," was the adopted "daughter" of Brigham Young. Such encounters notwithstanding, Latter-day Saints were less than successful in converting American Indians into Lamanites with the ultimate goal of making them "white and delightsome."

In sum, the volume provides a fresh perspective on the Mormon construction of race through its focus on the role of the Book of Mormon in facilitating this process. Mueller's thorough, carefully documented narrative of Mormon interactions with Native Americans, or so-called Lamanites, is insightful. Mueller's assertion that Jane Manning James was a pivotal figure in the declining status of Mormon blacks is enlightening. James's mere presence,

combined with her persistent pleas for her temple endowments, prompted church leaders to elevate what had been simply an anti-black practice since the time of Brigham Young to an entrenched policy that church leaders emphatically affirmed following James's death in 1908. Mormonism's anti-black policy received further legitimacy through a seminal First Presidency statement in 1949 that proclaimed it essential doctrine.

The aspects of the volume's discussion of Mormon–African-American interactions prove less satisfactory. For example, Mueller grossly oversimplifies Joseph Smith's evolving views on slavery, as evident in the book's assertion that, "In the 1830s Joseph Smith penned defenses of slavery that sounded like any number of proslavery southern tracts. In the 1840s he reversed his view and argued that holding blacks in bondage was an affront to the founding principles of the Republic" (10). Confusing and, indeed, misleading is the author's assertion that "because Americans have long viewed race as a black-white binary, readers of the Book of Mormon have often understood the Nephites to signify white Europeans, while Lamanites have served as stand-ins for dark-skinned people of African descent" (34). And the author's claim that his volume is "the first major study of race and Mormonism that foregrounds the experiences of nonwhite Mormons, especially early church members of African and Native American descent" is inaccurate (11).

Mueller's work is also less than effective in its style of presentation. The narrative constantly jumps back and forth in time, making it excessively repetitious. The prose style is awkwardly crafted, tedious, and frequently painfully verbose.

Such problems notwithstanding, Max Perry Mueller's *Race and the Making of the Mormon People* is an important addition to the ever-growing body of scholarship dealing with Mormonism and race. It thus deserves the attention of both experts and interested lay persons.

— Newell G. Bringhurst
College of the Sequoias

Dixie Saints: Laborers in the Field

By Douglas D. Alder

Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University & Deseret Books, 2017. xxv + 373 pp. Paper, $21.99

Nothing came easily for the children of faithful Mormon pioneers who were called to Utah's Dixie region by leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. These remarkable children were born into the harsh and arid region known as Dixie, a region with little annual precipitation, limited arable land, and extreme summer temperatures at the convergence of the Mojave Desert, the Great Basin, and the Colorado Plateau. These young people were remarkable because, born between the 1880s and 1930s, they were moving from dugouts to roughhewn cabins erected in nascent villages. Often these children were in tow as their parents moved from one place to another, searching for a better slip of land with a scarce water supply to provide for their growing families. These were the children eking out brief hours for schooling in between bleak hours of clearing land in a time before mechanization, when farm labor was done by hand and with precious few draft animals. This was a time when young children were often saddled with big responsibilities and heavy loads.

Dixie Saints is a well-researched study of over four hundred interviews of the children of the Dixie pioneer settlers that intends to highlight their challenges and success. The precious oral interviews taken in the 1960s by Fielding Harris were transcribed over two decades by dedicated historians and archived at Dixie State College by the book's author, Douglas D. Alder. Alder, former professor and president at Dixie State, then compiled salient excerpts from the interviews with matching segments on various societal subjects including daily work; interaction with American Indians; forced colonization of Mexico; community, church, and military service (this group experienced two world wars); frontier medicine; and schooling. Beginning each of the segments, Alder provides a substantial and enlightening perspective of the time, both within the state and nationally in juxtaposition to Utah's Dixie. The excerpted collection of firsthand accounts reveals not only fond memories of family life, but all the

details of laboring in life and in faith as children in a desert wilderness where "nature was their life." (46)

The second generation of Utah's Dixie gives us revelations in their own words of their daily lives, from tending siblings; feeding animals; ministering to sick or injured parents; planting, watering, and weeding gardens; collecting wood; tending the fire; cooking meals; trading for supplies; to dealing with disasters, often while parents worked the fields afar or who left on errands and never returned. Such stories will engage and even mesmerize many academic readers. For Utahns and those with familial ties to Utah, interview subject names like Spendlove, Leavitt, Cox, Reusch, Hall, and Bundy will also resonate. In all, Alder's study is revealing as to why so many Utahns and Mormons have strong rural values and are so inextricably tied to the land. Additionally, this true endeavor, at a time when parts of America were well along in urbanizing and industrializing, gives proof to the unique nature of Mormon culture, which enabled it to adapt and survive in the harsh conditions of Southern Utah. "These stories, admittedly fond memories, depict powerful family life of stable laboring families. They are positive probably because these were the survivors." (46) As such, *Dixie Saints* will add greatly to what is known and written about Utah during the awkward time transitioning between pioneer living and the modern age in a region where survival was an everyday task.

— Marsha Holland
Southern Utah Oral History Project, Tropic, Utah

A Mission for Development: Utah Universities and the Point Four Program in Iran

By Richard Garlitz

Logan: Utah State University, 2018. x + 235 pp.
Paper, $23.95

In *A Mission for Development,* Richard Garlitz uses the foreign aid contracts that Utah State University, Brigham Young University, and the University of Utah signed with the U.S. government to illustrate the impact of the Point Four/USAID programs in Iran during the 1950s and 1960s. He interweaves the history of American foreign aid to third world countries with the experiences of Utah experts. The Utahns' insights on the overthrow of Prime Minister Mossadegh in 1951 and 1952 is especially interesting. This book is valuable for understanding Utah's role in U.S. foreign policy, because while other scholars have written about U.S. foreign aid, few have mentioned Utah. And while technical reports and dissertations have reported on the Utah contract, I am one of the few people who have studied the contracts based on the technicians' experiences.

This is similar to a book that I wanted to write, but Garlitz takes a different approach than I would have. I am impressed with how he fit the Utah contracts into the larger picture of other university Point Four contracts and the turmoil in Iran during the 1950s and 1960s. An important insight is that most of the difficulties in Iran were internal rather than a struggle between U.S. democracy and Russian communism. In addition, Garlitz demonstrates that trying to remake Iranian society based on U.S. agricultural and educational practices was not realistic.

But that national view is also a weakness for those interested in Utah history. The story of the connection between the technicians and students who attended the universities remains to be told. And the continued involvement of the Utah universities' role in foreign aid is incomplete. I can best illustrate that point with reference to my own research and my family's experience. While all three universities had contracts, only the USU contract lasted the entire time. I believe that is largely because of the connections that Utah State had with Iran starting in 1912. Brigham Young University was involved early in the Point Four planning, but got a smaller contract for education instead of agriculture. The University of Utah contract was only from 1951 to 1954. Federal policies determined much of why the contracts changed over time, but there were other factors, including reports of too many Mormons. While Garlitz mentions this concern, the story is more complex. In addition, I am not sure that the Iran experience was the major reason why USU and the U of U continued working with foreign aid. The interesting negative example is that BYU did not work as closely with the federal government again.

Each technician's story is also unique. My father Bertis L. Embry accepted J. Clark Ballard's request to go to Iran because he believed traveling was one of the best ways to learn. He struggled to interact with the engineering students but enjoyed working with the farmers in Iran. He disliked the clannishness of the Mormon community. My father's decision to accept later foreign assignments was based on his desire to work with the people of Latin America. While he was frustrated in Iran, he felt rewarded for his efforts in Guatemala.

Besides these personal concerns, I think that Garlitz attempts to cover too many subjects in this short monograph. Scholars have written books about each of the national subjects—Iranian history especially after World War II, British control of Iranian oil, and U.S. cold war policies. The explanations of these topics are incomplete. Garlitz uses quotes from technicians to illustrate certain points, but he does not explain that the experiences varied depending on the location and time. Bruce and Lula Anderson had a much different experience in Shiraz in the early 1950s than my family did in Karaj in the early 1960s.

I learned much from reading *A Mission for Development*, but I felt like I was reading five separate articles that did not flow into a unified monograph. All of those concerns aside, *Utah Historical Quarterly* readers will enjoy learning about a little known Iran-Utah connection.

— Jessie L. Embry
North Logan and Provo, Utah

As Precious as Blood: The Western Slope in Colorado's Water Wars, 1900–1970

By Steven C. Schulte

Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2016. xviii + 386 pp. Cloth, $41.00.

The historical backdrop for this well-researched and well-written story of Colorado's water wars is the division of Colorado River Basin water among the Basin's seven states—Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California and Mexico—and the reclamation projects designed to use their share of the water. Steven C. Schulte focuses his attention on the contentious developments of the abundance of water on the Western Slope of the Colorado Rockies and the growing, thirsty, and politically influential Front Range of Colorado. The Western Slope of the Colorado Rockies contributes 70 percent of the Colorado River water flow, with western mountains in Wyoming, Utah's Uintas, and the eastern face of the Wasatch Plateau, and the mountains in northwestern New Mexico contributing the remaining portion. The seven Colorado River Basin states signed the 1922 Colorado River Compact that divided the river's annual estimated flow of fifteen million acre-feet between the lower basin states (California, Arizona, Nevada) and the upper basin states (Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico) with each basin receiving 7.5 million acre-feet annually. Mexico, after signing a treaty in 1944, began receiving a small amount of Colorado River water. The four upper basin states agreed in 1948 to divide their portion of the river flow. Colorado received 51.75 percent and Utah 23 percent, and the other two states agreed to smaller portions. Each state, in cooperation with the Bureau of Reclamation, prepared reclamation water projects to use their shares of the precious water.

The greatest water needs of Utah and Colorado were outside of the Colorado River Basin, which would require expensive trans-basin water diversions. Even before the 1922 Compact, Utah County farmers desperately needed supplemental irrigation water to increase their crop yields. They organized themselves into irrigation districts in the early 1900s to obtain financial assistance from the newly created Bureau of Reclamation. With this assistance they constructed the Strawberry Valley dam and tunnel system in the Uinta Basin to deliver water to their farms. Decades later, the Wasatch Front experienced urban growth that required additional water. Under the newly established Central Utah Water Conservancy District and with the Bureau of Reclamation, the water users in the Uinta Basin cooperatively planned and constructed the Central Utah Project (CUP).

Colorado's development of the Colorado River water was rife with contention. Schulte, in *As Precious as Blood*, meticulously details the

political wars between the agricultural water users of the Western Slope and the politically powerful, expanding, urban population of Colorado's Front Range. With the signing of the Colorado River Compact and subsequent water agreements with the other basin states, Front Range water users began "to formulate and implement an ambitious plan to claim waters on the west side of the Continental Divide" (33). The Front Range and other eastern Colorado water users conceived of various trans-mountain projects—the Colorado–Big Thompson Project and the Fryingpan–Arkansas Project among others—to capture and divert much of the state's portion of the Colorado River water.

Colorado water brokers Delph E. Carpenter and Frank Delaney and political leaders Edward T. Taylor and Wayne N. Aspinall, among others, played crucial roles in securing their state's share of river water and in promoting plans to use the Colorado River water during the years of water wars between the Western Slope and the Front Range. Congressman Aspinall grew up on the Western Slope and later became chair of the important Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation and chair of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Aspinall faced a daunting task in protecting the state's share of the river's water from other thirsty states, as well as in working to secure federal legislation authorizing and funding the state's Colorado River water projects during Colorado's "preoccupation with its east versus west water politics [that] distracted from a more unified stance characteristic of some other Colorado River Basin states" (248).

"It would take Colorado until the 1960s," Schulte writes, "to build a better working relationship between its Eastern and Western Slopes; even after that point, distrust rather than cooperation has been more the norm" (xiv).

— Craig W. Fuller
Salt Lake City, Utah

Drowned River: The Death & Rebirth of Glen Canyon on the Colorado

By Mark Klett, Rebecca Solnit, and Byron Wolfe

Santa Fe: Radius, 2018. 212 pp. Cloth, $65.00

It is difficult to write about Glen Canyon and Lake Powell. Both are beloved and beautiful, of course, but one exists at the other's expense. It has been more than a half century since Glen Canyon Dam created a lake that buried what Edward Abbey called the "living heart" of the Colorado Plateau. On an average day it is not hard to imagine that those enjoying Lake Powell outnumber those who experienced the canyons submerged at its depths. Yet even in its erasure, the living memory of Glen Canyon continues to inspire activism and action.

Drowned River is the result of a multi-year collaboration between photographers Mark Klett and Byron Wolfe and the writer Rebecca Solnit. It began as a desire to return to the places in Glen Canyon that Eliot Porter photographed in the early sixties. Porter captured the subtleties of color and light in an intricate maze of sandstone before it was lost to the rising waters of the reservoir. His stunning book, *The Place No One Knew: Glen Canyon on the Colorado*, was seen as a eulogy to a natural wonder. Sections of this text are reproduced in the opening pages of *Drowned River*, and it acts as a lodestar for the collaboration. However, with most of the features now under water, retracing Porter proved to be a quixotic exercise in rephotography. As it progressed this project became something else, something more important.

As the title suggests, *Drowned River* is a partisan text. The authors see Lake Powell as a great folly, an "ecological mistake," and a "monument to overconfidence." Yet, whether one agrees with their position or not, this book comes at an important moment in the ongoing evolution of Lake Powell and Glen Canyon. As history has shown, no dam is permanent, and change is

inevitable. Through image and text, the authors reveal how global warming has already begun to affect the lake. In her writing, which alternates between that of an impassioned advocate and an unflustered historian, Solnit makes a compelling case. The reservoir is dropping, she notes, and will continue to recede as rainfall and snowmelt in the West decrease. Lake Powell loses 860,000 acre-feet annually to evaporation and will lose more as temperatures rise. As a result of these changes the lake is already smaller, which should not surprise anyone who remembers Hite Marina.

In 1960 the Sierra Club began publishing their famed "Exhibit Format" books, which featured insightful writing and even better photography from the likes of Ansel Adams, Philip Hyde, and Eliot Porter. The principal aim of the series was to encourage readers to become active in fighting for America's wild places. *Drowned River* is a successor to this series in the way that it creates a "confluence of photography and environmental activism." In her text, Solnit demonstrates what has made her one of the best interpreters of place and of American landscapes in particular. But it is the interplay of text and photographs that makes this book important. Klett and Wolfe continue to visually explore the American West in innovative ways, and their images alternate between stunning landscapes in the tradition of Porter and photographs of litter and lost belongings. There can be beauty in both, and Lake Powell has always balanced between stunning and ugly. (What visitor has not dreaded to think what lies at its depths?) The most emblematic work, however, might be a pair of photographs made of the same location in 2012 and again in 2014. While the earlier image shows nothing but a dead pool of stagnant, brown water, the second shows a living river once again cutting through a landscape of red and green. The rephotographs reveal how natural processes are "not restoring the river that was," but "creating the river that will be." At some point in the future, whether we like it or not, Lake Powell will die, the Colorado River will reemerge, and Glen Canyon will be reborn. It's just a matter of time.

— James R. Swensen
Brigham Young University

Talking Machine West: A History and Catalogue of Tin Pan Alley's Western Recordings, 1902—1918

By Michael A. Amundson

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. vii + 200 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

Talking Machine West is an illustrated volume that seeks to contextualize the Western music of the early twentieth century, distributed in the form of sheet music and recorded cylinders. Northern Arizona University professor Michael A. Amundson points out how these songs reflected shifting attitudes about race and gender relations in the context of nostalgia for a vanishing frontier. The book, winner of the Popular Culture Association's Ray & Pat Browne Award for Best Reference/Primary Source Work, also contains a catalogue of over fifty recordings with reproductions of their sheet music artwork.

Portrait of a Prospector: Edward Schieffelin's Own Story

By Edward Schieffelin, edited by R. Bruce Craig

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 136 pp. Paper, $19.95.

This memoir recounts the story of Edward Schieffelin, one of the few nineteenth-century silver prospectors to strike it rich. Having left home at age twelve to wander across Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and California, Schieffelin continued his lifelong pursuit of mining and adventure even after becoming a millionaire. R. Bruce Craig, an independent historian and professor of American History at the University of Prince Edward Island in Canada, edited this volume and has included an introduction with historical context and Schieffelin's family background. *Portrait of a Prospector* offers a firsthand account of a life spent engaged in pursuit of the opportunities that the West promised during the late 1800s.

Out of the Woods: Seeing Nature in the Everyday

By Julia Corbett

Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2018. 232 pp. Paper, $17.95.

This collection of essays from University of Utah Environmental Humanities professor Julia Corbett aims to draw the reader's attention to the existence of the "natural" world within our everyday human contexts. Her approach includes highlighting—with humor, personal insight, and historical research—the contradictory ways in which we conceive of our relationship to nature. These essays may hold special interest for Utah residents, as several of the essays treat familiar Salt Lake City spaces such as the City Creek mall.

CONTRIBUTORS

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KENNETH L. CANNON II is an attorney in private practice and an independent historian who resides in Salt Lake City. His current longterm projects are a biography of George Q. Cannon as part of Signature Books' new short biography series and a group biography of George Q. Cannon's three oldest sons, John Q., Frank J., and Abraham H.

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JAMES R. SWENSEN is an associate professor of art history and the history of photography at Brigham Young University. He is the author of *Picturing Migrants: The Grapes of Wrath and New Deal Documentary Photography* and *In a Rugged Land: Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange's Three Mormon Towns Collaboration*. He is also the recipient of the 2016-2019 Butler Young Scholar from the Charles Redd Center for Western American Studies.

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A century ago, on December 21, 1918, this photograph captured construction in-progress on Pantages Theatre—later known as the Utah Theatre—on Salt Lake City's Main Street. The Kearns building is directly behind the construction site. Notice the work horses side-by-side the steam shovel, signaling the transition from animal to machine power. Opened on November 1, 1919, with a lavishly decorated two-thousand seat auditorium, Pantages initially staged vaudeville theatre before becoming a movie palace in the 1930s. Since 2009 the building has been in the hands of the Salt Lake City Redevelopment Agency. *Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 24556.*

Outside the Denver and Rio Grande Depot, 1910. *Utah State Historical Society*

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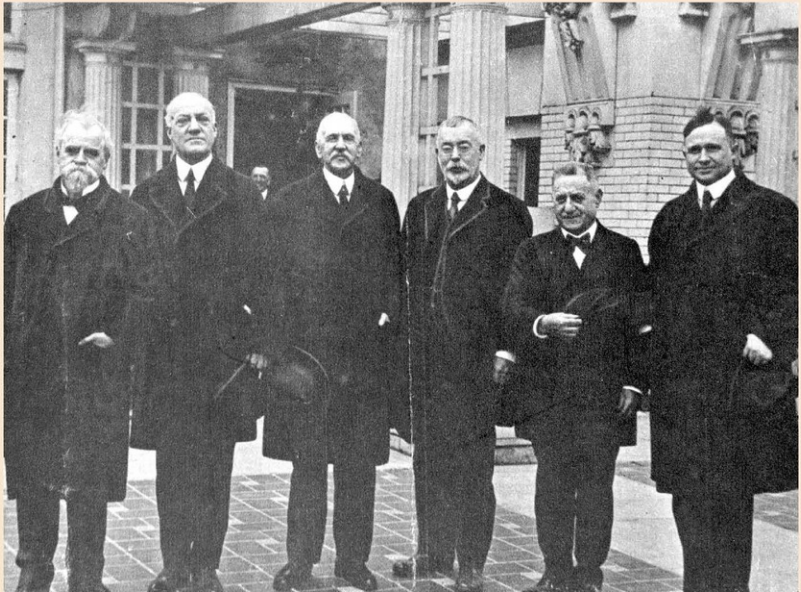
BACK COVER

— Five state governors of Utah and one territorial governor together at the Hotel Utah roof garden, January 3, 1921. From left, Arthur L. Thomas, Heber M. Wells, John C. Cutler, William Spry, Simon Bamberger, and Charles R. Mabey.
Courtesy Sam Weller. Utah State Historical Society.

FRONT COVER

— A mother and daughter in Widtsoe, Utah, to be relocated to a more agriculturally productive area, April 1936. The federal Resettlement Administration bought out local landowners, and the town of Widtsoe was abandoned.
Photograph by Dorothea Lange. Library of Congress.



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